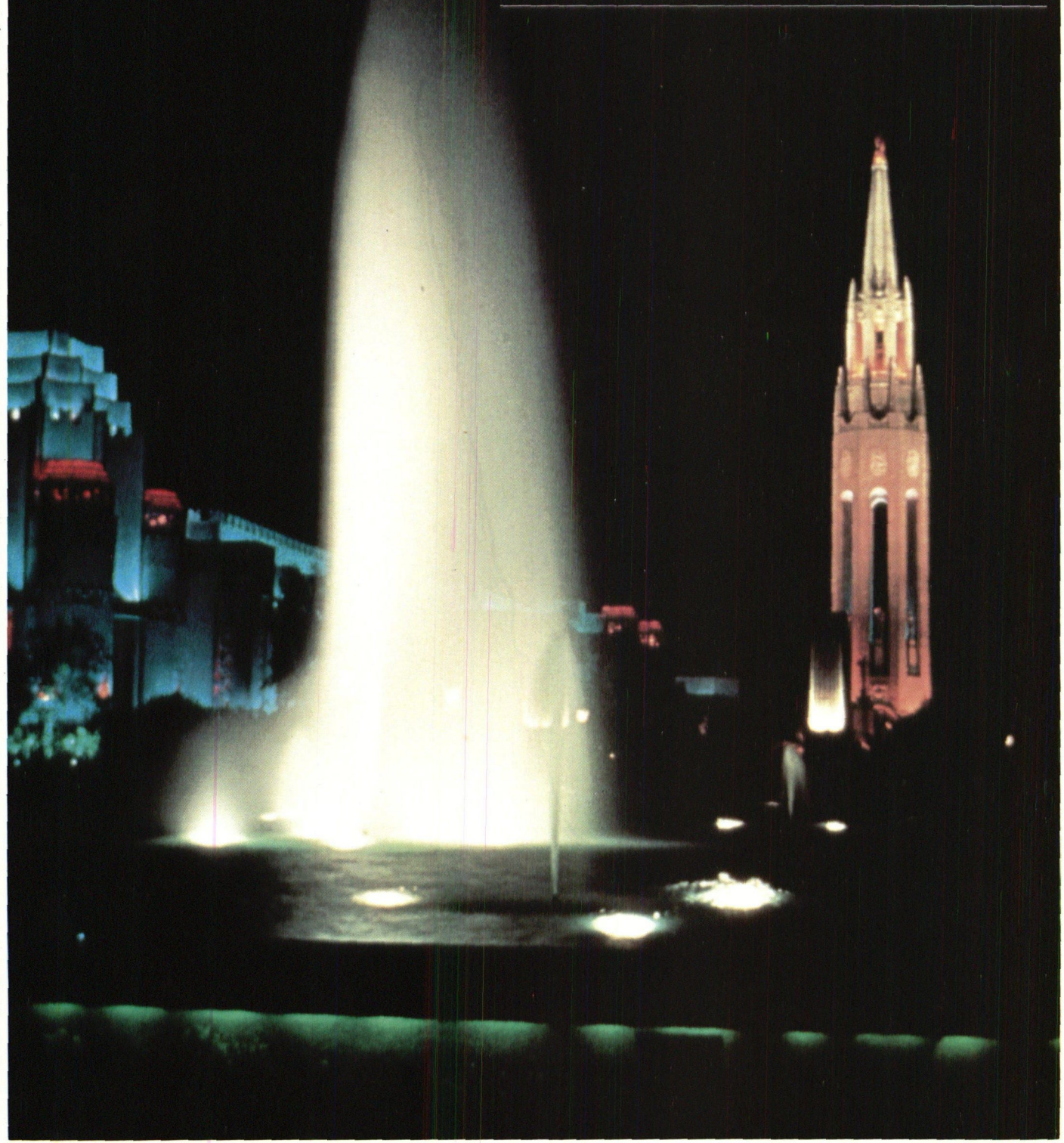


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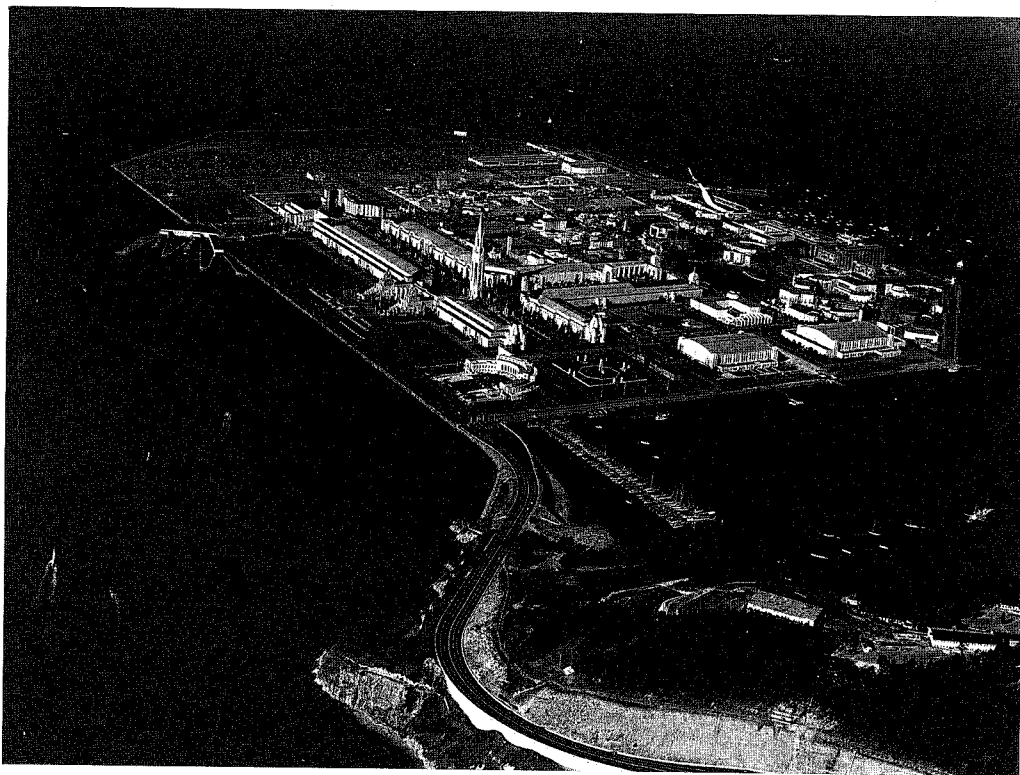
# CALIFORNIA HISTORY



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# Milestones in California History—The Golden Gate International Exposition



The fabulous Golden Gate International Exposition of 1939–1940, as seen from the tower of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge. Courtesy Gabriel Moulin Archives.

A half century ago, the Golden Gate International Exposition shimmered on an artificial island in the middle of San Francisco Bay, a fantasy of peace and beauty in a brutally real world. The illusion of the "Fair," as it was called, was reflected in almost everything about it. The giant mythical buildings and statues were of chicken wire and plaster, destined to be easily pulled down to make room for a proposed airport. The 1939 theme of the fair, alternately termed a "Pageant of the Pacific" and a "Pageant of Peace," clashed with the reality of Japan's 1937 invasion of China and fascist expansion in Europe. Like Disneyland today, the Golden Gate International Exposition of 1939–1940 offered pure escapism; one thin dime provided a ticket from the world of the Great Depression and looming war to an enchanted fairyland of hope, peace, and fun.

During 372 days in 1939 and 1940 millions of excited visitors arrived by ferry, Key Train, and automobile to see the fair. Upon entering, guests could indulge their wildest fantasies. They talked with a robot; savored the art works of the world in the Palace of Fine and Decorative Arts; smashed an atom at the University of California cyclotron; observed the parade of history in the Cavalcade of the Golden West; titillated their senses at Sally Rand's Nude Ranch; ate, drank, and made merry at the Gayway; and watched Pan American Airways mechanics service and load the giant China Clipper flying boats in the Hall of Air Transportation.

As a celebration of the advancement of transportation technology, the man-made Treasure Island, upon which the Fair stood, bridged the gap between the old world and the new. The construction of the island—like the fair itself—was a

Depression-era attempt to stimulate employment and business in the Bay Area by putting architects, artists, construction companies, and laborers back to work. The ultimate purpose of this 400-acre tribute to human ingenuity, completed in 1937 by filling in San Francisco city property on shoals north of Yerba Buena Island, was a purely functional one—a future international airport. However, less than a decade after the island rose from the bay, advancements in aviation technology invalidated that idea, and Treasure Island became federal property in 1944. Over the past four decades, the island has metamorphosed into a naval base, drab utility replacing the fantasy of a once-shining fair city. Three concrete and steel fair buildings, sixteen large concrete statues, a terracotta fountain portraying the Pacific basin, and a palm-lined avenue stand as pale ghosts of a time when Americans ventured to believe that the world could and would become better.

For those who experienced the exposition 50 years ago, however, the memories of a moment of hope, a season of fun, will never die. In the words of journalist Richard Reinhardt, ". . . the Fair represented a turning point for the State and for the West, as well as for me. It was the last product of the '30s, in a sense. It was a bootstrap operation, like so much in that era—a time of economic depression, social unrest and unhappiness, culminating in something very positive, attractive, and optimistic. All of that was swept away by the war, like my own childhood."

LAURIE W. BOETCHER,  
Editorial Assistant, California History

#### On the Cover:

Viewed from an illuminated garden at the south end of Treasure Island is the striking 400-foot Tower of the Sun, capped by a golden phoenix. The Tower not only symbolized the Golden Gate International Exposition, but also the rise of San Francisco from the ashes of the 1906 earthquake and fire. Courtesy Treasure Island Museum. This photograph and others on inside front and back covers reprinted, with permission of Scottwall Associates, from *The San Francisco Fair: Treasure Island, 1939–1940*, edited by Patricia Carpenter and Paul Totah (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, Publishers, 1989), a collection of newly published photographs and oral history narratives of people involved in the fair.

# CALIFORNIA HISTORY

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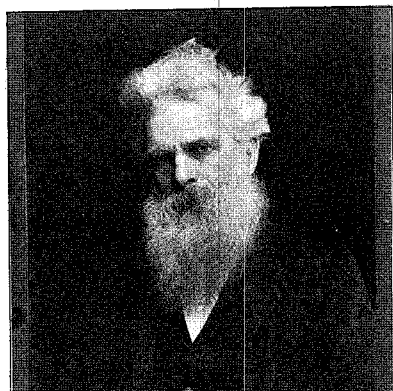
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READER'S ALERT: With this issue, *California History* returns to an earlier practice of dating its numbers according to the seasons: Spring, Summer, Fall, and Winter. Readers will note that this release of the quarterly is designated the Spring/Summer issue. This is being done to accommodate a special, expanded theme issue that will be published in Winter 1989. The theme issue, "Envisioning California," will include selected papers given at a conference by the same title held recently in Sacramento, at which scholars, artists, writers, business leaders, and public officials examined the state's history, culture, and contemporary issues. Like the conference, the Winter 1989 number of *California History* will be an important forum for reflections on the California Experience.

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# EADWEARD MUYBRIDGE AND THE OLD SAN FRANCISCO MINT: ARCHIVAL PHOTOGRAPHS AS HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

*by William A. Bullough*

Photographers employ the term “archival” to describe negatives and prints that have been processed in a manner that removes or modifies chemical residues that cause irreversible deterioration. Historians and other researchers use the word quite differently: to identify materials that are held in repositories and available for study. In the case of photographs as documents, however, the usages can coincide. For esthetic purposes, many nineteenth-century photographers toned their prints, without realizing that the process converted residual metals to inert salts and preserved their work against the devastation of time and pollution. As a result of this largely fortuitous circumstance, archives bulge with photographs awaiting the attention of researchers. But the coincidence involves a conspicuous anomaly.

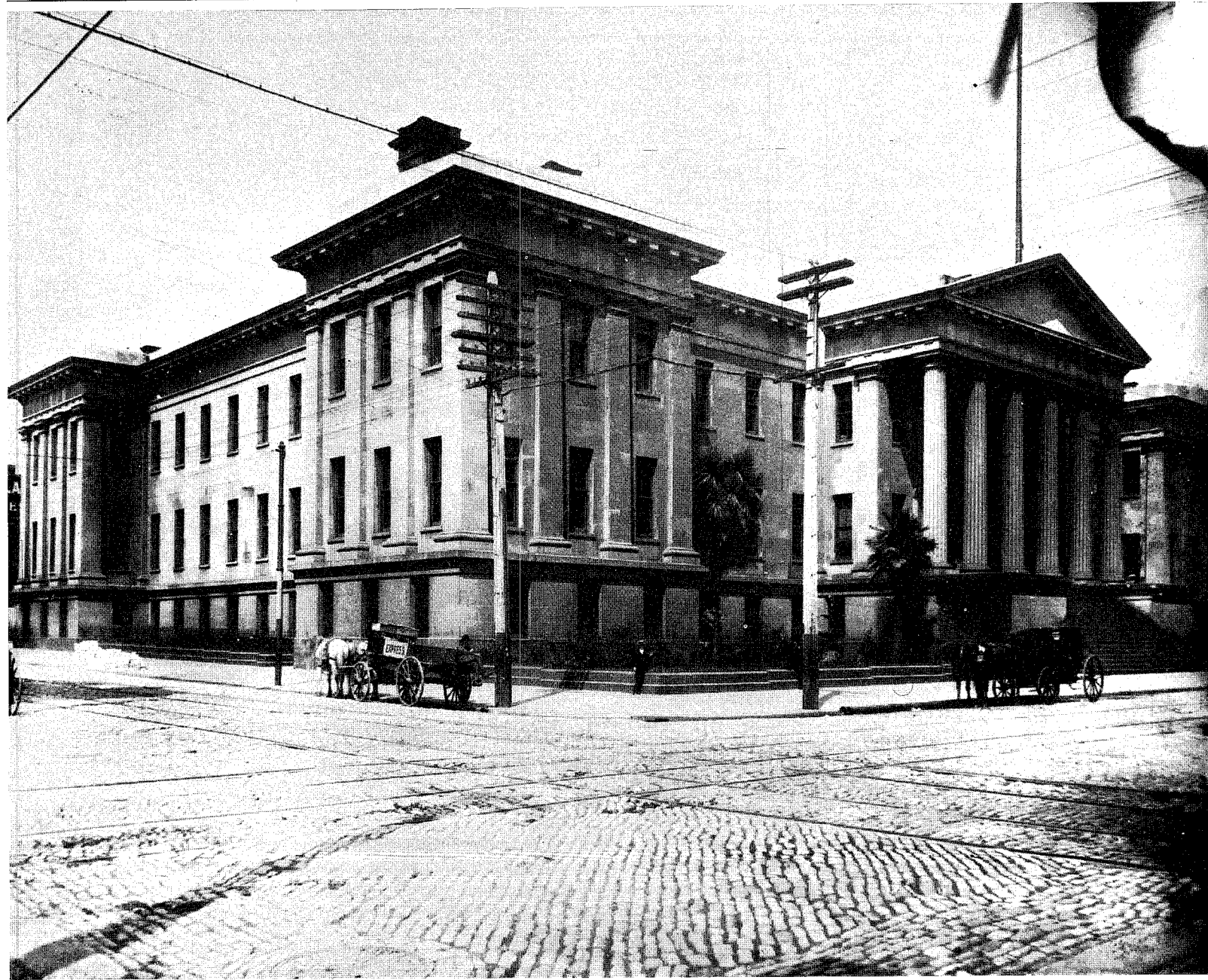
Historians join photographers and other aficionados of California and the West in their appreciation for the magnificent legacy inherited from nineteenth-century image makers. Prints are recovered, restored, and displayed in galleries and museums throughout the region and the nation. Admiring audiences universally acclaim their esthetic qualities and marvel at their precise records of the landscapes, people, and artifacts of the past. Despite the attention and appreciation, however, the importance of photographs as records capable of adding unique dimensions to historical understanding remains to be recognized fully or exploited effectively. The work of one of California’s best-known photographers, Eadweard Muybridge, is a case in point. His prolific work is accessible in collections and published reproductions, and his-

torians of the art and technology of photography have studied his numerous contributions extensively. Yet few researchers in fields such as social, cultural, economic, environmental, or architectural history have used his images as they would employ manuscripts and similar archival resources.

When English-born Edward (not yet Eadweard) James Muybridge followed his New York City acquaintance Silas T. Selleck to San Francisco in 1855, he certainly did not consider himself a documentary photographer—or a photographer of any sort. During his five years in the city, he earned his living as he had in England and the eastern United States: as a private bookseller and as a commission agent for the London Printing and Publishing Company. From Selleck, he had acquired a passing interest in photographic processes that Louis J. M. Daguerre introduced in 1839, but nothing at the time presaged eventual international recognition or ranking among the medium’s major innovators.<sup>1</sup>

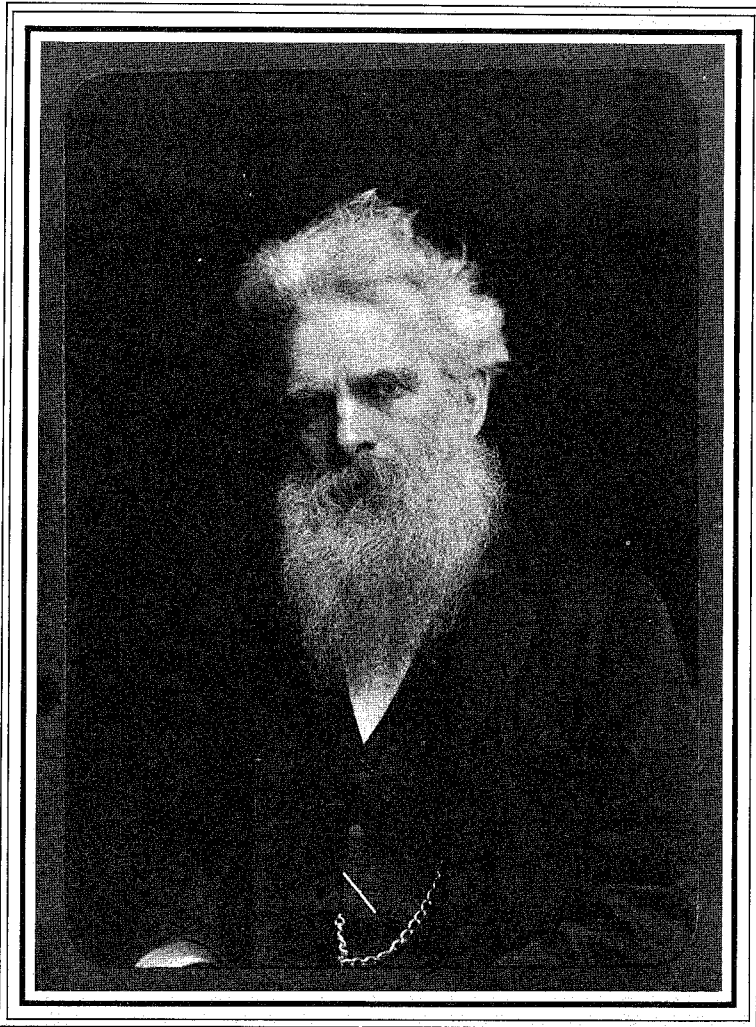
Nor were future achievements any more predictable when Muybridge returned to England in 1860. While Royal Physician Sir William Gull supervised his recuperation from injuries suffered in a stagecoach accident, however, circumstances conspired to alter his course. Gull prescribed periods of rest and outdoor activity to restore health, eccentric inventor and daguerrean Arthur Brown rekindled the convalescent’s photographic interests, and popular enthusiasm for the stereoscope suggested a potentially lucrative profession congenial to his tastes and athletic proclivities. Muybridge also believed that California’s magnificent scenery and burgeoning development would supply ideal





The Old San Francisco Mint, 1910. *Courtesy, Olga Widness,  
Director, Old Mint Museum*





After Muybridge's return to England in 1892, William Vicks of Ipswich made his portrait.  
*Courtesy of the Bancroft Library*

subject matter and that the United States would provide an eager market. Thus, when he decided to return to San Francisco for a second time in 1867, he loaded his baggage with photographic equipment and supplies and prepared himself to embark on a new career. In California, Muybridge rapidly established the esteemed position that he currently occupies in the history of photography.<sup>2</sup>

By 1870, indeed, he had joined a contingent of preeminent western photographers that included Carleton E. Watkins, Alfred A. Hart, William Henry Jackson, and Timothy H. O'Sullivan. Operating from a converted wagon that he called his "Flying Studio," Muybridge preserved images of the people and artifacts of the city and the natural wonders of the state. For the War Department, he photographed the recently-acquired Alaska Territory, coastal light-houses, army garrisons on Alcatraz, the Farallon Islands, and participants on the site of the Modoc War. For the Central Pacific Company, he recorded transcontinental railway construction scenes. Over his copyrighted pseudonym "Helios," Muybridge sold prints at his own outlets at Woodward's Gardens amusement park and other locations in the city and through agencies including Selleck's Cosmopolitan Gallery of Photographic Art, Thomas Houseworth and Company, and the Bradley and

Rulofson Gallery.<sup>3</sup> During the same period, gold medals awarded in 1873 by the International Exhibition in Vienna for Yosemite views and in 1875 by the Eleventh Annual Industrial Exhibition in San Francisco for Central American photographs confirmed his credentials as a creative artist.<sup>4</sup>

Leland Stanford's patronage had by then added yet another dimension to Muybridge's activities. Stanford subscribed to a theory called "unsupported transit"—the notion that all hooves of a trotting horse left the ground simultaneously during its stride. To prove his point, and incidentally to win a bet, the former governor employed Muybridge, whose photographs of the trotter "Occident" at Sacramento during 1872 and 1873 confirmed Stanford's contention. The \$10,000 (some say \$50,000) wager that allegedly was involved has assumed prominence in the folklore surrounding the episode. In reality, the experiment had more serious purposes: to improve training methods at Stanford's Palo Alto Stock Farm and his horses' performance on California's race courses.<sup>5</sup>

More importantly, refinement of the techniques developed to solve Stanford's problem resulted in additional attainments and distinctions for



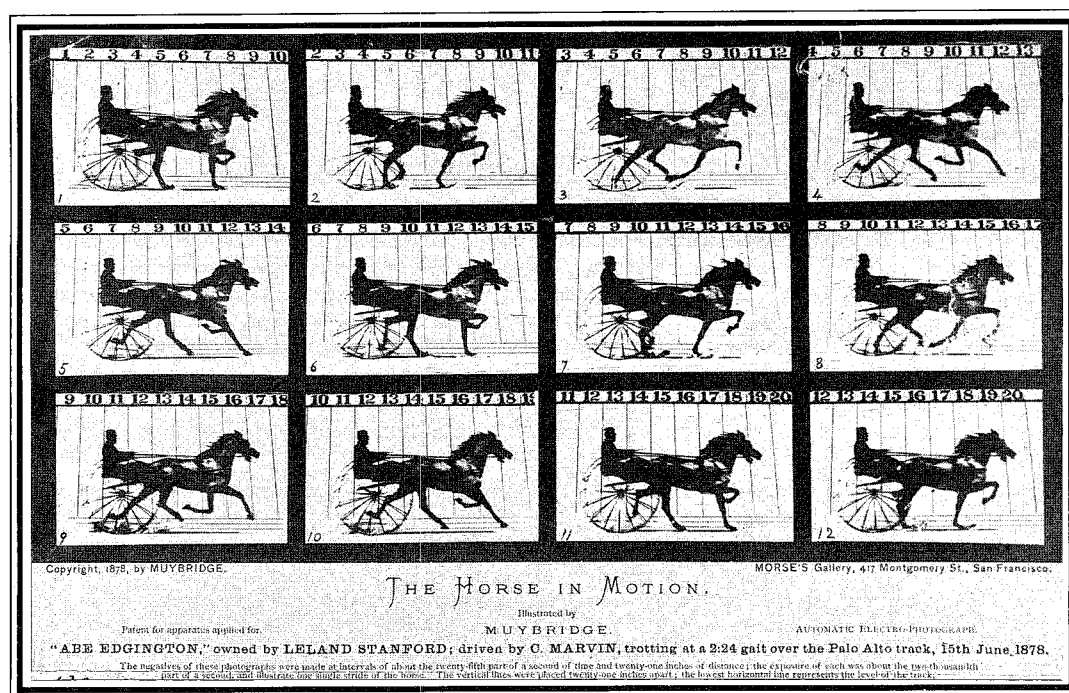
Muybridge. During the 1880s and 1890s, he patented camera shutters that arrested movement and the Zoöpraxscope, a device that projected images simulating motion and fascinated visitors to the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Experiments at the University of Pennsylvania in 1884 and 1885 provided material for publications that included *Animal Locomotion* (11 volumes, Philadelphia, 1887), *Animals in Motion* (London, 1899), and *The Human Figure in Motion* (London, 1901).<sup>6</sup> Between 1889 and 1892, Muybridge astounded members of the prestigious *Cercle de l'Union Artistique* in Paris and Royal Institution in London and other learned European and American audiences with demonstrations of his techniques and their results. Finally, seventy years after his death in England in 1904, he won the title "father of the motion picture."<sup>7</sup>

For all of these achievements and more, Muybridge has received well-earned scholarly recognition. With the exception of photographs made to study human and animal locomotion, however, the importance of his work as documentation received virtually no attention until 1986. Then historian E. Bradford Burns turned not to photographs of California and the West but to Guatemalan scenes produced during 1875.<sup>8</sup>

Muybridge began a year-long tour of Central America, sponsored by the Pacific Mail Steamship

Company, shortly after his acquittal on a murder charge. He had married Flora Stone in San Francisco, probably in 1872, and two years later learned that his bride had taken a lover, an adventurer who called himself "Major" Harry Larkyns. He also concluded that the man had fathered Floredo Helios Muybridge, born in April 1874. Six months after the boy's birth, on October 17, 1874, Muybridge tracked Larkyns to a cabin near St. Helena, confronted him with a pistol, and shot him dead. From then until February 1875, when a jury returned a verdict of justifiable homicide, the photographer remained in Napa County jail. Just two weeks after the decision, he sailed from San Francisco, bound for Panama.<sup>9</sup>

In his 1986 monograph, Burns examined the documentary quality of the Guatemalan photographs made during Muybridge's Central American sojourn. Comprehensive image content included Indian laborers in fields and villages, the haciendas and leisure activities of the wealthy classes, coffee plantations replacing rain forests, sophisticated urban scenes and primitive native settlements, market places, public buildings, and cathedrals. According to Burns, Muybridge produced a "time capsule" that records sharp contrasts in a society being transformed—not consistently for the better—by increasing economic dependence on a coffee-producing planter class and by the ideologies of



In 1878, Muybridge used his patented "Automatic Electro-Photographic" technique to capture Leland Stanford's trotter "Abe Edgington" running at full gait.  
Stanford University Museum of Art 13929, Muybridge Collection





Panels Three, Four, and Five of Muybridge's 1878 San Francisco Panorama preserve the view southward from Nob Hill across the South of Market District to China Basin and Mission Bay and record contrasts in the changing city. The Old Mint (Panel Five) is distinguished by its twin chimneys. *Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries*

a recently-installed political regime. His "photographic essay," Burns wrote, "eloquently announced the Guatemala that [Justo Rufino] Barrios, the Liberals, and the Positivists would create."<sup>10</sup>

Muybridge did not intend to produce a "photographic essay." Nor do his formal Guatemala studies approximate the social documentary approach of his contemporary, Thomas Annan, who examined the slums of Glasgow, or predict that of a later San Franciscan, Arnold Genthe, who preserved the character of the city's Chinatown as it existed before the earthquake and fire of 1906. Instead, they resemble Eugene Atget's records of the transformation of Parisian streets and architecture during the late nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, the Muybridge photographs that are most similar to those of Atget also provide the most apparent potential for use as historical documents. His celebrated panoramas of San Francisco made from the top of Nob Hill (then California Street Hill) between 1876 and 1878 are stunning examples. Although

the 18x22-inch plates of his mammoth camera preserved amazing architectural variety, sophistication, and permanence in a city barely a generation old in incredible detail, the images were more than static slices of time. They also contained graphic evidence of the dynamic processes that transformed traditional walking cities into modern metropolises during the late nineteenth century and vivid reminders of the environmental consequences of a century of human intervention.<sup>12</sup>

Random observations drawn from Muybridge's 1878 panorama confirm the wealth of information contained in his photographs. The mass of William C. Ralston's Palace Hotel, completed on Market Street in 1875, dominates Panel Three, but the Second Street Cut, which bisected Rincon Hill and its elite neighborhood in 1867 and began major changes in the city, are clearly visible in the background. The new City Hall under construction in Panel Six attests to the shift of urban activity, influenced by Ralston and other real estate specu-





lators, southward from Portsmouth Square toward Market Street during the decade. In Panel Two, plumes of factory smoke document industrial activity transforming the South of Market region into a slum district of factories and tenements called "Tar Flat." In contrast, palatial mansions rising on the heights in Panels Nine through Eleven testify to the "conspicuous consumption" characteristic of the period. The simultaneous demolition of working-class residences to make way for them—and for Leland Stanford's elegant stable in Panel One—displays not only a negative consequence of urban improvement but also a source of wage-earners' frustrations during the "Terrible 'Seventies." Beyond Temple Emanu-El, Trinity Episcopal and St. Patrick's churches, and Union Square in Panel Four are Mission Bay and China Basin when they were, in fact, navigable bodies of water.<sup>13</sup> In short, examining and interpreting photographs can confirm what is known about the city and provide new insights into its history.

Muybridge images of the construction of the San Francisco Mint, recently acquired by the California Historical Society, furnish yet another opportunity for using photographs as historical documentation. The Old Mint located at Fifth and Mission streets is not, in fact, the oldest in the city. In 1850, Congress authorized and President Millard Fillmore approved a Branch Mint for the state. At first, it functioned in conjunction with a private mint, Moffat & Co., on Commercial Street between Montgomery and Kearny, but in 1854 the government bought the firm's facilities. When coinage requirements exceeded the operation's capacity in 1864, Congress approved construction of the structure now called the "Old Mint."<sup>14</sup>

The federal government purchased the 75,625 square-foot site in 1867, and construction began in April 1869, under the direction of the designer, Treasury Department Architect Alfred Bult Mullet, and the on-site supervision of local builder



William P. C. Stebbins. When the Classical Revival building was dedicated in November 1874, it represented not only Mullet's final government project and the last federal construction in the so-called American Monumental architectural style, but also the only example of that genre west of the Mississippi River. The Old Mint survived the disasters of 1906 and operated until it was replaced in 1937. It received approval for National Landmark status in 1967, and subsequent rehabilitation efforts mounted by the California Heritage Council, the California Historical Society, Director of the Mint Mary Brooks, and others culminated in its reopening to the public in 1973.<sup>15</sup>

Photographers, including Muybridge, recorded the construction of the massive three-storied building (two floors, an above-ground basement, and an attic) between 1869 and 1873. The California Historical Society collection in San Francisco currently includes seven photographs made during construction and two post-1900 images of the completed Mint. Two of the contemporary prints are signed "Helios." The style and quality of two more and their similarity to a dozen other photographs that Muybridge made during Mint construction indicate that they should be attributed to him.<sup>16</sup> Three are almost certainly the work of someone else. The photographs' specific utility for historians depends on objectives of research and the ability to interpret them in conjunction with other sources of information.

Plate One, dated 1869, is the earliest print in the group, but it probably is not a Muybridge. The fact that it is unsigned is not definitive proof, but neither exposure nor reproduction approach his usual standard. Flaws resulting from poor wet-plate coating or inept printing are evident, and the cloudy sky is an obvious and clumsy addition. Peculiarities of nineteenth-century light-sensitive emulsions forced photographers to add sky details from separate negatives routinely made for the purpose. By 1869, however, Muybridge had invented and patented a device that made the practice less necessary in his work. When he did manipulate his prints, enhancements were usually undetectable.<sup>17</sup>

Nevertheless, Plate One contains useful information. Since newspapers record the beginning of grading in May, the photograph must have been made later, probably in June or July.<sup>18</sup> Orienting image content with contemporary maps verifies the vantage point as Fifth (left) and Mission (foreground) streets, both outside the frame of the print. Some of the occupants of the working-class residences and shops fronting on Stevenson Street a half block south of Market in the background and lining Jessie Street on the left complained about the construction, but most did not.<sup>19</sup> Although workmen are posed in deference to extended exposure times, their objectives are apparent. They must use laborious methods and basic tools—muscle-power, heavy tampers, wooden planks, and wheelbarrows—to fill forms and compress

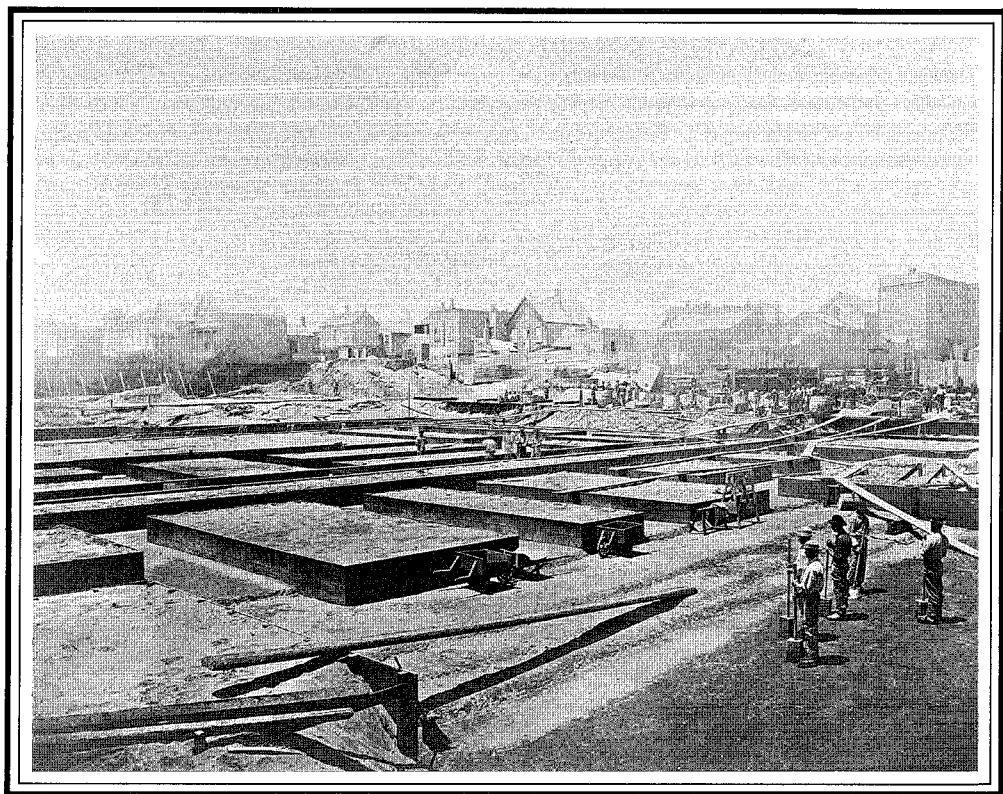


Plate 1: From Fifth and Mission streets, an unknown photographer recorded the beginning of construction in the spring of 1869. CHS Library, San Francisco



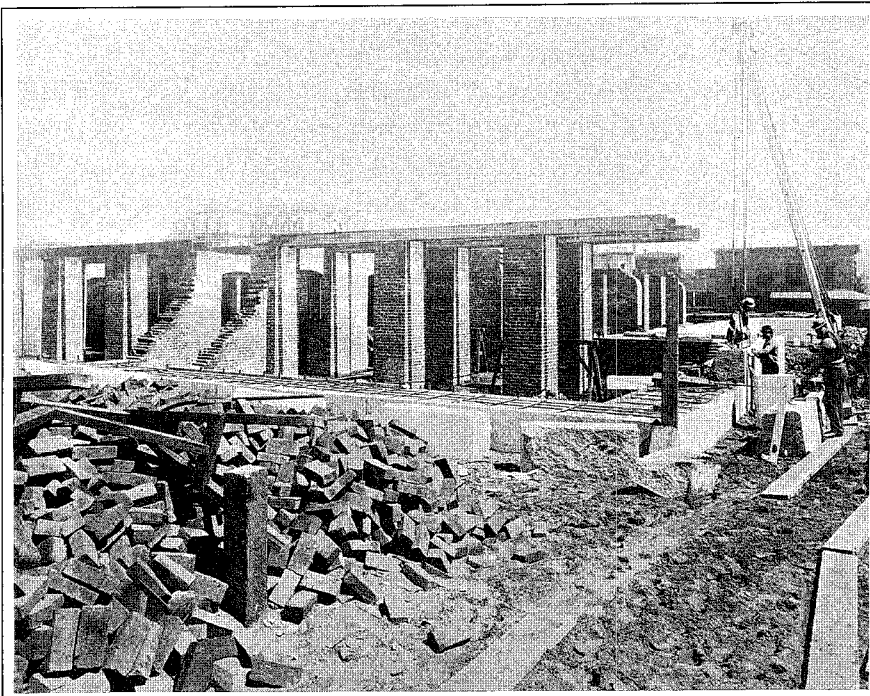


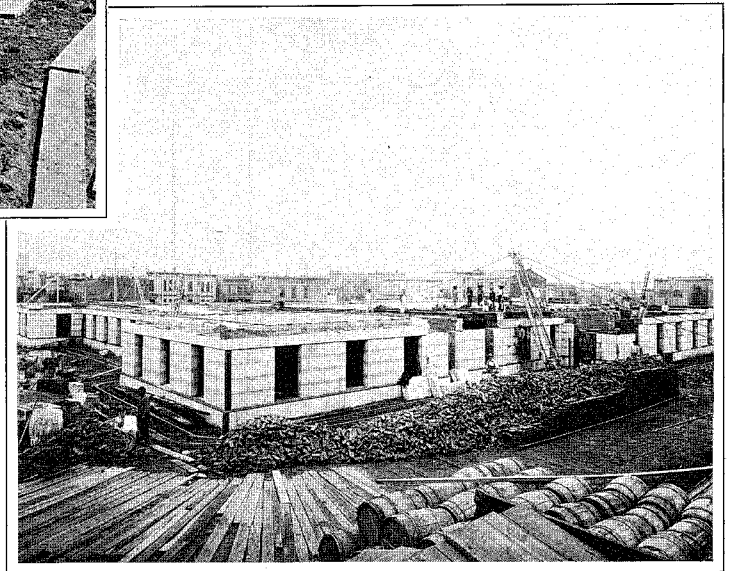
Plate 2: A tiny "Helios" on a plank at the lower right identifies Muybridge's 1870 photograph from Mission Street, with Lincoln School on Fifth Street in the background. *CHS Library, San Francisco*

material to provide a solid base for the structure's five-foot thick foundation and supporting pillars. Comparing outlines of the building site with the stature of the laborers suggests the truly imposing nature of the project.

Plate Two is dated 1870 and signed with a tiny "Helios," barely visible on a plank at the lower right. The cornerstone of the Old Mint was laid, "with Masonic ceremonies," at the northeast corner of the building in late May. Since the picture shows limited progress on the Fifth Street wall where dignitaries installed the stone, it probably was made somewhat earlier, perhaps in April.<sup>20</sup> Muybridge positioned his camera on Mission Street, looking northward across the construction site toward Lincoln School, shops, and dwellings on the east side of Fifth Street below Market. Four stonemasons use a hand-winch block-and-tackle apparatus to position pre-cut, numbered granite blocks from the Penryn Quarry in Placer County to form ground floor exterior walls.<sup>21</sup> One of the builders ignored the camera while posing at his duties, but his co-workers could not resist adding their faces to the record. Already-completed portions of the brick-pillared and iron-girdered basement substructure confirm the solid construction that made the building impervious to both would-be burglars and the devastating shocks of 1906.

Plate Three, signed "Helios" on a keg at the lower right and dated 1870, initially presented something of a puzzle, and it illustrates a problem that

Plate 3: Muybridge's 1870 photograph looks eastward from the corner of Jessie and Mint streets and shows the rear of the Mint under construction. *CHS Library, San Francisco*



frequently confronts photographic researchers. An inscription (not Muybridge's) identifies the camera position as the intersection of Fifth and Mission streets, but elements of the city visible in the background and the shape of the building itself make that vantage point impossible. Comparison with maps, other photographs, and the structure of the Mint suggested the proper orientation. The camera apparently looks eastward from the corner of Jessie and what is now Mint Street. Defining the point of view aids interpretation of the photograph's content. It suggests, for example, that the trestle-like structure at the center right is either a framework enclosing the storage tanks of the San Francisco Gas Company (which appear in Panel Four of Muybridge's 1878 panorama) at First and Natoma streets or a temporary tramway used to transport debris from grading operations southeast of Rincon Hill to China Basin.<sup>22</sup> Substantial activity and progress are evident in the photograph. Scores of workmen, instead of just four, pose at their tasks, and sandstone blocks imported from Newcastle Island in British Columbia nearly encase the ground floor.



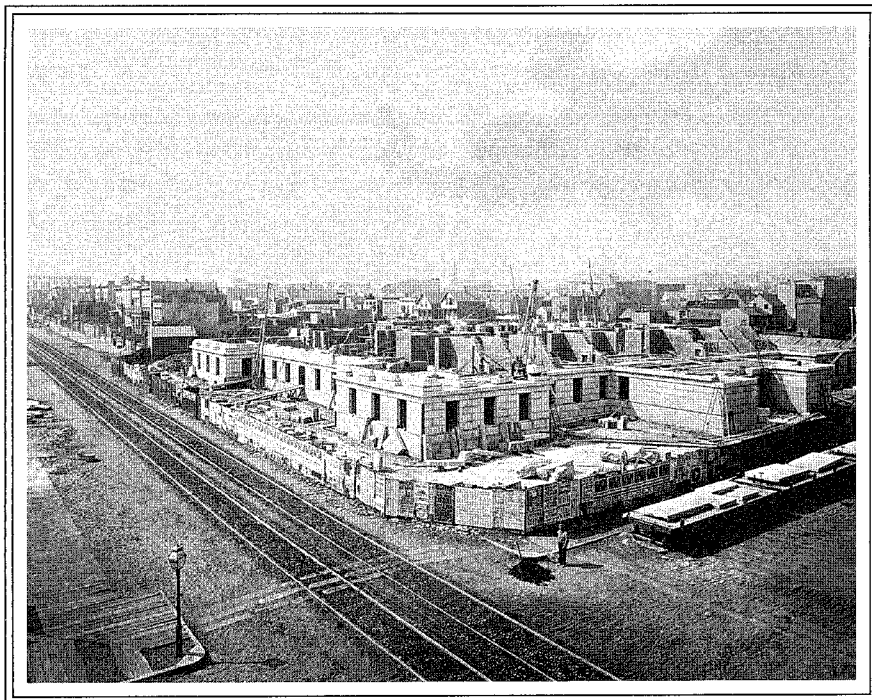


PLATE 4

Plates 4, 5 & 6: Muybridge made three photographs of Mint construction from the same vantage point with the same equipment early in 1871. Plate Four (Courtesy The Bancroft Library) is signed "Helios" in the lower right and was probably made in February or March. Plates Five and Six were made in April and July. The prints, in the California Historical Society collection, are smaller in size than Plate Four, suggesting that trimming removed the signature.

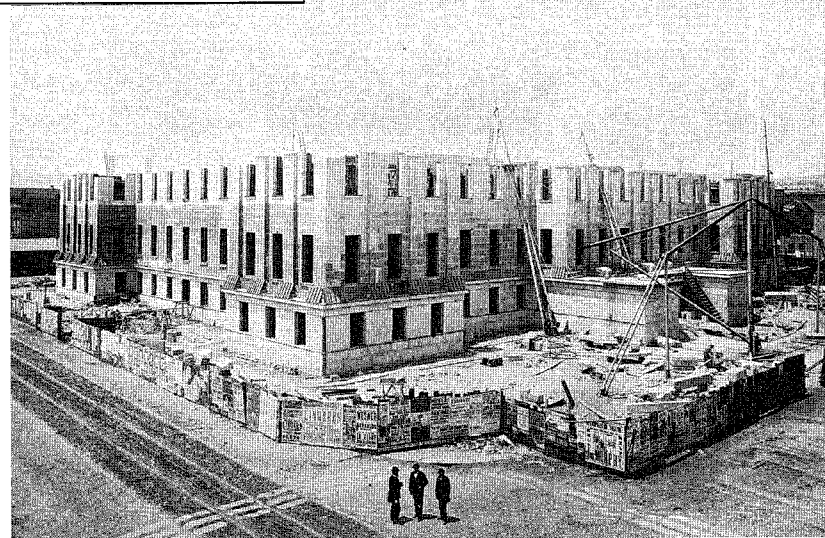


PLATE 6

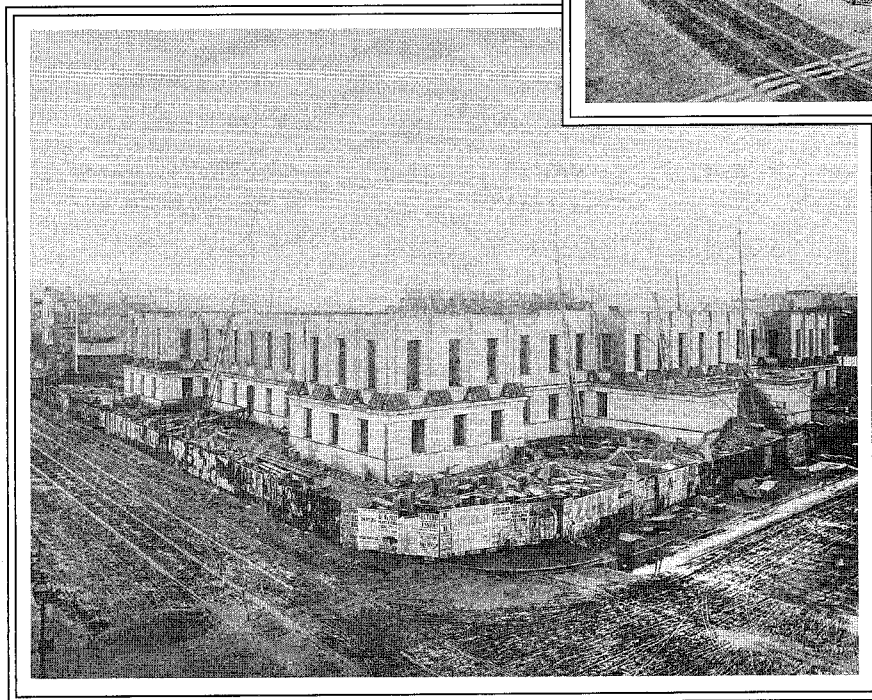


PLATE 5



Plates Five and Six, dated April 15 and July 15, 1871, respectively, were made from identical camera positions, looking in a northwesterly direction from the intersection of Fifth (right) and Mission streets. No "Helios" identifies either print, but their similarity to Plate Three, their composition and quality, the apparent use of a shorter-than-normal focal length lens to emphasize linear convergence, and especially their resemblance to an earlier signed photograph (Plate Four) from the same vantage point provide evidence that Muybridge made them both.<sup>23</sup>

Whether he did or not, they confirm significant facts. Utilities were installed and functioning in the South of Market district by 1871. City Railroad Company horsecar tracks traversed Mission Street heading toward Woodward's Gardens, and a gas lamp appears in the lower left corner of the two images. Plate Five illustrates the sorry state of street paving and maintenance in 1871; April showers, horses' hooves, and wagon wheels reduced thoroughfares like Mission Street to quagmires. Because streets appear to be surfaced in Plate Six, made just three months later, the source of the problem may have involved cleaning rather than paving.<sup>24</sup> Broadsides on fences in the two photographs elaborate the range of social and cultural activities in the city: skating events, excursions, military drills, drama and musical performances at the Metropolitan Opera House and the California

Theater, and lectures at Platt's Hall.<sup>25</sup> The most striking feature of the two plates, however, is the relative progress in the construction. In April, only a few segments of the second story wall appeared on the Mint Street side of the building; by July, the floor was nearly enclosed. The figures in the foreground of Plate Six (perhaps including Mullet or Stebbins) may be congratulating themselves on the accomplishment.

Plate Seven, dated 1872 and showing the north side of the Mint with the intersection of Fifth and Jessie streets at the left center, is unique in several ways, but it probably is not a Muybridge photograph. Print quality is mediocre, and vertical lines diverge from the perpendicular axis of the building.<sup>26</sup> For the first time in the group of photographs, however, the configuration of the building has become readily apparent, and machine power makes its appearance in the scene. A single operator attends a steam engine with its belt enclosed in a rough wooden housing, but its purpose is not immediately evident. Numerous construction workers, under the watchful eyes of foremen in the center and at the right, seem to be actively engaged in their work rather than posed, as in previous photographs. The debris of construction—granite slabs, empty barrels and kegs, scrap lumber, and tools—lies everywhere, and ladders extending to second floor windows indicate that interior staircases were not yet installed.

Plate 7: By 1873, the building approached its final configuration. Much interior and exterior detail, however, remained to be added.  
CHS Library, San Francisco

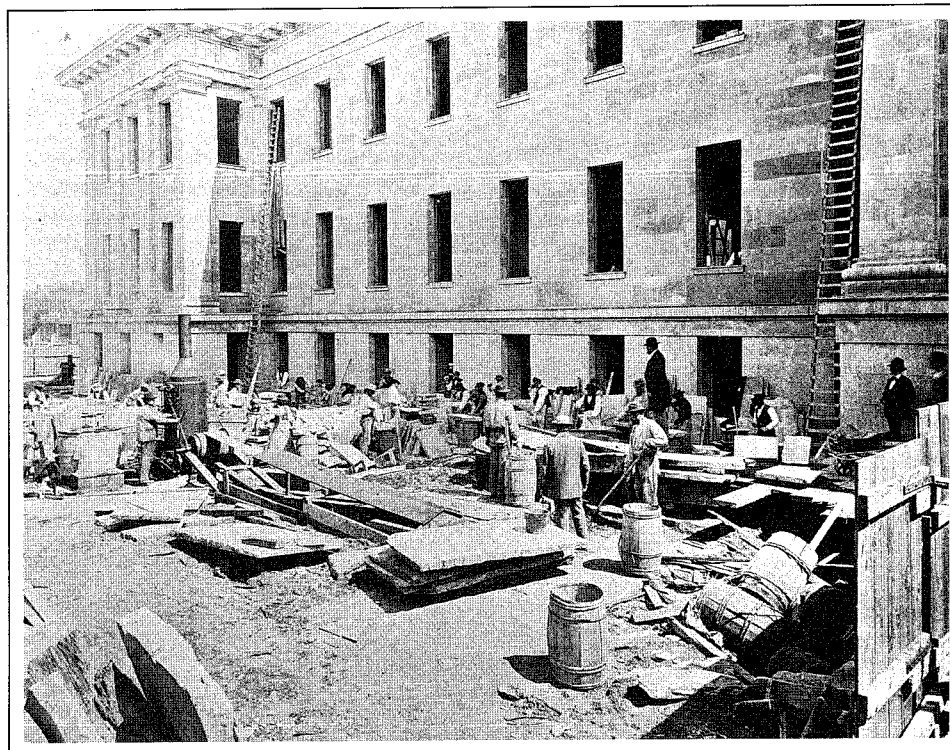




Plate Eight is marred by negative or printing defects in its central area, pronounced linear divergence, and obviously added sky detail (probably from the same negative used for Plate One). From atop Lincoln School on Fifth Street, the camera looked southwestward with Jessie Street in the right foreground and the spires of Saint Paul's Lutheran Church on Mission Street in the background.<sup>27</sup> Although the Mint's final outlines are well-defined, much remains to be accomplished. Granite columns await placement on their footings, work has not yet begun on the massive exterior staircase leading to the main entrance, planks and ladders still provide access to the interior, no

evidence can be seen of the 150-foot chimneys designed to exhaust fumes from smelting retorts, and progress on the roof and attic that will ultimately enclose the central skylights and atria is minimal. It is unlikely, then, that interior finishing or equipment installation had started when the photograph was made. Yet on the evening of May 22, 1873, Henry Baker, a clerk in the Assayer's Office, tumbled from the second floor stairway, fractured his skull, and died from his injuries.<sup>28</sup> The tragedy challenges the accuracy of the inscribed date, 1873. If that is indeed correct, the photograph must have been made very early in the year. Late 1872, however, seems more plausible.

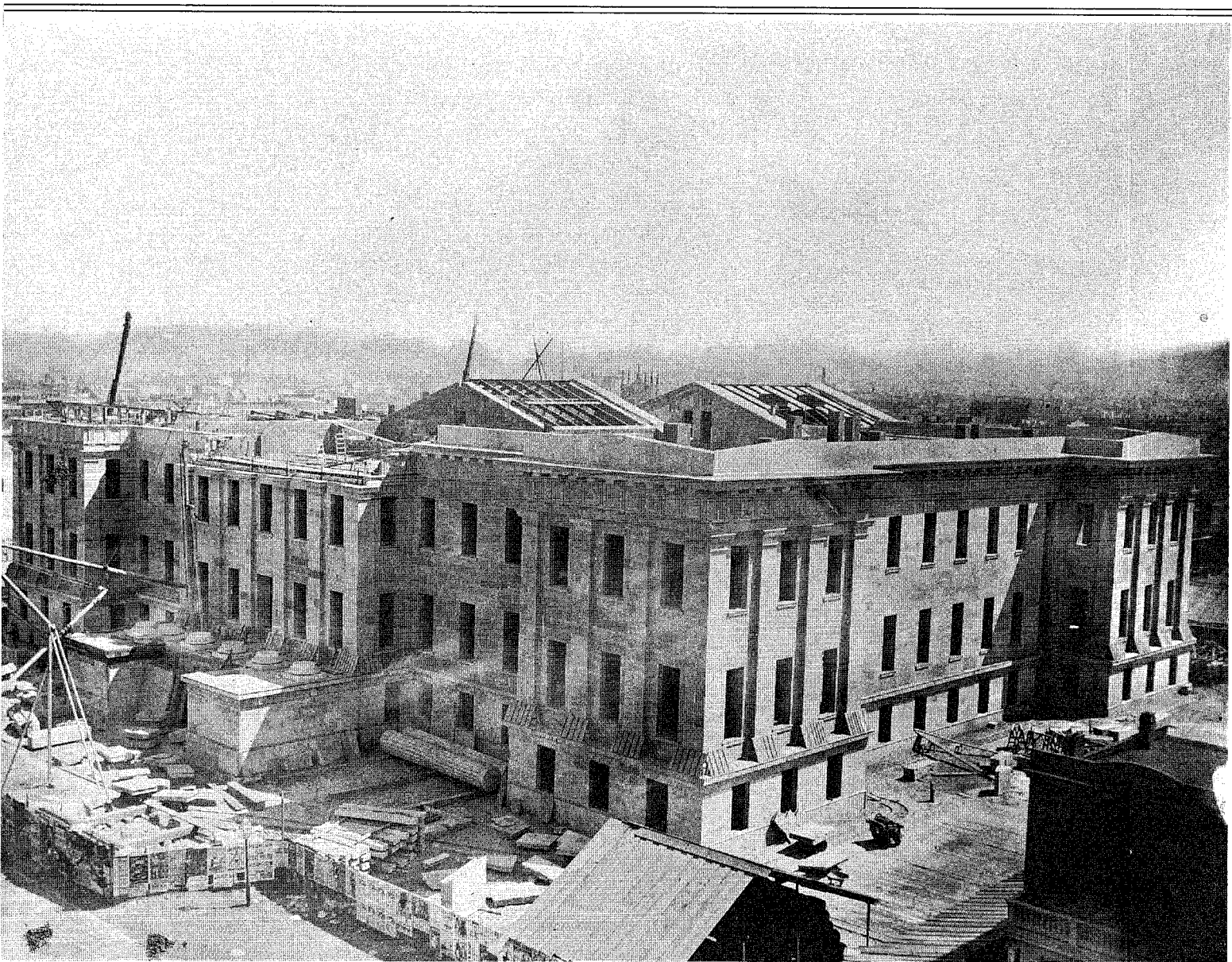
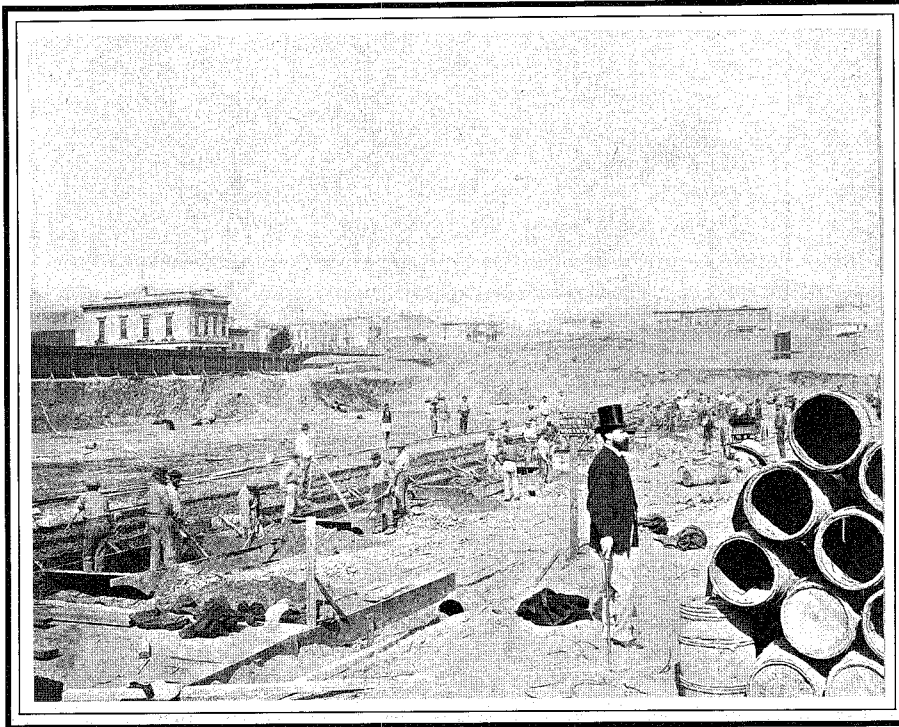


Plate 8: The Mint's physical shape became apparent, ca. 1872. CHS Library, San Francisco





Muybridge made one of the earliest photographs of Mint construction, probably soon after the completion of site-grading in May 1869. The dapper figure in the foreground is architect Alfred Bult Mullet. The sign behind him warns, "Spectators must not talk to the workmen." Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

Two rather unremarkable photographs of the finished Mint (not shown) complete the group of new images in the California Historical Society collection. Treu Hecht made the earliest at about the turn of the century. The costumes and the carriage seen in the picture suggest the approximate date, but other information confirms it. Until 1899, Hecht worked as a retoucher for several firms in the city; then he established his own studio on 35th Avenue, the address on the photograph's mount.<sup>29</sup> An unknown photographer made the second of the post-construction pictures during the 1930s.

A preliminary examination of a small group of photographs, even without a specific topic of inquiry in mind, demonstrates the value that images from the past can have for a wide variety of researchers. Those concerned with architectural history, for example, will learn about both the design and construction of the Mint itself and the style and quality of surrounding residential and commercial buildings. Social and labor historians will likewise find information of interest, and the cultural historian will gain insight from details such as posters and costumes. For the urban historian, possibilities are both abundant and varied. The use of photographs as documentation, however, involves more than simply seeing and identifying. Cameras or photographers do periodically lie, dates and other data often are erroneous and misleading, and details can be added or deleted. Therefore, interpreting photographs demands the same sort of skepticism, preparation, and insight that is applied to other kinds of evidence. The effective analysis of photographs also demands knowledge of the historical context or setting, the ability to relate images to numerous other sources of infor-

mation, and familiarity with the history of the medium itself.

Photographic research can be both laborious and frustrating, but potential rewards and an occasional exciting discovery more than justify the expenditure of time and energy. The voluminous and varied output of Muybridge's effort alone offers vast opportunity, but possibilities are limited to neither renowned nineteenth-century photographers of his caliber nor major collections. Since 1839, when Daguerre introduced photography as a practical process, countless individuals have preserved a multitude of visual fragments of the past. Studies currently are locating and publicizing images made by commercial photographers, portraitists, journalists, serious amateurs, and family snapshooters, all of which can add rich texture to the fabric of historical understanding.<sup>30</sup> In addition, increasing interest in preservation is making the work of previously anonymous photographers available through state and local historical societies across the nation. In numerous collections—large and small, public and private—an extensive, varied, and neglected resource awaits the penetrating eyes and curious minds of ingenious and determined investigators. CHS

*See notes beginning on page [59].*

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# ANNIE E. K. BIDWELL: Chico's Benefactress

by Valerie Sherer Mathes

During the spring of 1918 while most Americans scanned newspaper headlines to learn the fate of the American army in Europe, residents in the rural Northern California agricultural community of Chico worried about the health of seventy-eight year old Annie Ellicott Kennedy Bidwell. She had suffered a slight paralytic stroke, and her condition was worsening. Then on March 10, the headlines of the *Chico Record* read: "Mrs. Bidwell is Dead. Patriarchal patroness of this city succumbs to final transition."<sup>1</sup> For the next several days, the front page of the local newspaper was filled with anecdotes, funeral arrangements, details of the will, and tributes to this remarkable woman, who, for half a century, truly had been Chico's Godmother. She had served her community not only as a dedicated civic leader and philanthropist but as a reformer active in temperance, educational, and Indian reform work.

The love and devotion accorded Annie Bidwell in death by the community that had been her home for fifty years was widespread. Businessmen and women, journalists, judges, school children, and especially the Mechoopda Indians from the *ranchería* on the Bidwell estate of Rancho del Arroyo Chico paid their final respects. In behalf of all Chico residents, the Chico Business Men's Association passed a resolution expressing their sadness at the passing of the woman who had been a "benefactress of the city of Chico and its residents."<sup>2</sup> In her memory the Superior Court in neighboring Oroville and the Justice Court in Chico adjourned until the day after her burial. All the stores, offices, and saloons were closed for two hours in the afternoon to enable grieving residents to pay their last respects.

In an editorial tribute, the editor of the *Chico Record* praised Annie Bidwell for giving away lands and material wealth, but, more importantly, he wrote "... she gave of love and charity, and compassion and high desires, and the example of that rarest of virtues . . . a Christian life."<sup>3</sup>

Normal college and grade school classes were cancelled to enable approximately 2400 college students and school children to form "an avenue of sorrow" through which her funeral cortege could pass. While the town's children planned to cover her pathway with flowers, eight Mechoopda Indians would carry her gray French casket from the Bidwell mansion, where the service was held, to the gravesite.<sup>4</sup> She was to be laid to rest beside her husband, John Bidwell, in Chico cemetery.

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A stately Annie Bidwell toward the end of her life—beloved benefactress, philanthropist, and humanitarian to Chico and her people.  
*Courtesy California State Library*





SPRING/SUMMER 1989

15



The headlines of the *Chico Record* reported that 10,000 people paid their respects. About twenty Mechoopda Indians from the Rancho Chico *ranchería* sat in the rear of the main parlor of the mansion during the service. Noting their presence, Reverend Willis G. White admonished the Indians to remember the lessons Annie had taught them. Although "you have lost the shepherd of your flock," he told them, and "you . . . have been deprived of the inestimable service of one whose life was consecrated to you . . . you have had the benefit of a saintly Christian life in your midst" which would be the "most cherished treasure."<sup>5</sup>

March 12 dawned with a cloudy, mottled sky that dropped both rain and hail upon those gathered at the gravesite—the grayness of the day "reflected in the grayness of spirit and heaviness of heart."<sup>6</sup> The lateness of the funeral cortege and a sudden storm prevented the college students and school children from forming their avenue of sorrow. As residents gathered at the graveside to hear the brief, simple prayer, "the sun broke through the mass of storm clouds into the glory of its western light over the earth and on the open grave. . . ."<sup>7</sup>

Several days later, braving wind and driving rain, six hundred Chico residents attended a Sunday afternoon memorial service at the Presbyterian church. Those gathered represented the various groups that Annie Bidwell had touched through her fifty years of humanitarian work. Indians, students, teachers, church members, ministers, business people, and temperance workers all paid tribute to the woman who had become their benefactor. Those assembled, although grieving their loss, pledged to work together to "bring to pass those things which she most desired."<sup>8</sup>

What manner of woman generated such love and devotion that thousands of mourners braved cold rain and hail to pay their last tribute? Who was this remarkable philanthropist and humanitarian who spent half a century in Chico? How had she come to the realm of philanthropy and what areas of philanthropic work was she most interested in? A close look at her last will and testament dated January 15, 1917, and the codicil of January 25, 1918, tells us a great deal about this amazing woman.<sup>9</sup>

The will distributed an estimated \$260,000 to friends, relatives, and various organizations. All provisions were considered jointly from Annie and her late husband John. Her bequests and therefore her most important humanitarian and reform

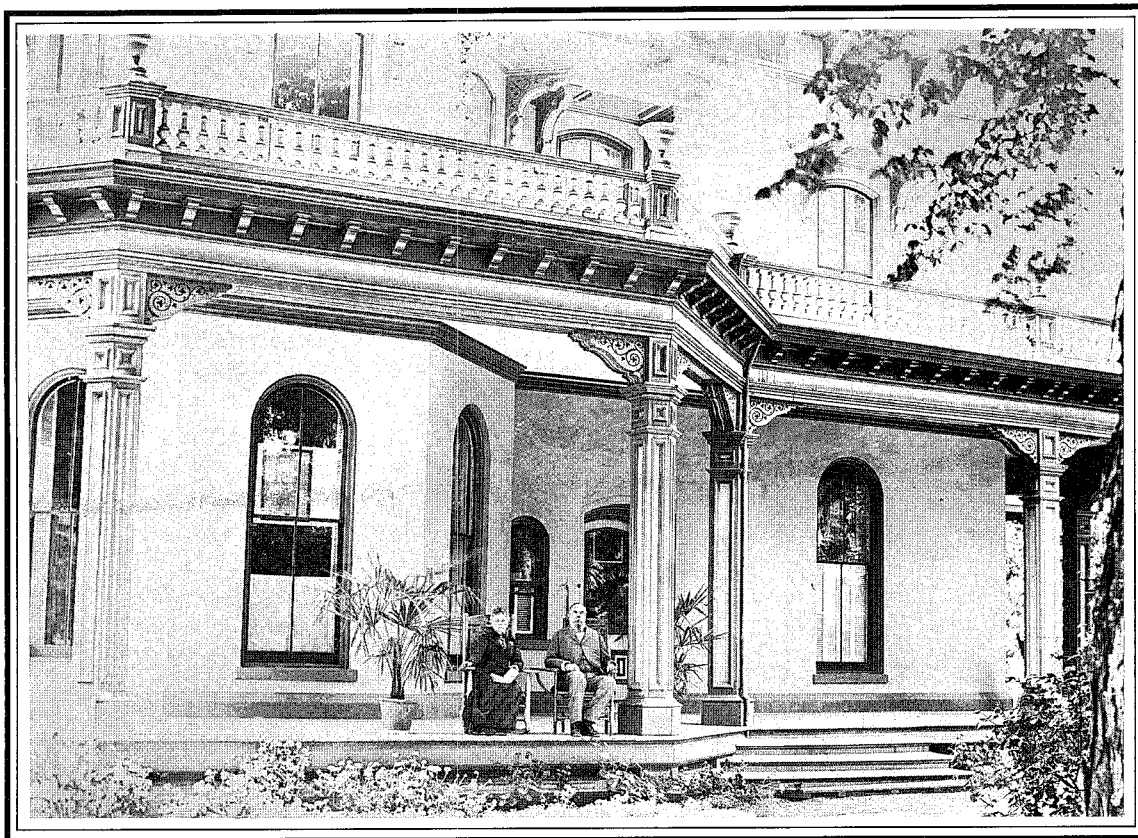
efforts were concentrated in the areas of Indian reform, temperance work, suffrage, and general church activities. To Reverend White, her pastor for a dozen years, and her co-worker among the Rancho Chico Indians, she left \$2,000. To the California Indian Association, located in San Jose, and to the National Indian Association, of which she had been a long-time member, she left \$4,000 and \$3,000 respectively. She bequeathed land to the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church as an endowment fund for the Indians of Rancho Chico. This land could be sold and a fund established for the benefit of resident Indians. Finally, the Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath School Work received \$4,000 for the benefit of Indians living in the foothills of Butte County.

Her intense feeling for temperance was reflected in bequests totalling \$27,000, including \$9,000 to the Prohibition Trust Fund Association of New York; \$4,000 to the Prohibition Party of California, in Los Angeles; \$4,000 to the Chico Women's Christian Temperance Union; \$3,000 to the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, in Illinois; \$4,000 to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of California, in San Francisco; \$2,000 to the Trustees of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church to be used by its temperance committee; and finally \$1,000 to the Southern California Woman's Christian Temperance Union, in Los Angeles.

Strongly reflecting a belief in evangelical Christianity, so common to many of her nineteenth century contemporaries, Annie remained devoted to her Christian faith throughout her lifetime. In death she contributed \$12,000 to various Presbyterian organizations: \$5,000 to the First Presbyterian Church of Chico, \$2,000 to the San Francisco Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, \$1,000 to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, \$2,000 to the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, and \$2,000 to the Accidental Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church.

Having taught for years, Annie thought the promotion of education to be important, and her bequest of \$4,500 to her great niece, Annie Ellicott Kennedy, for educational purposes reflected this belief. The remainder of the Bidwell estate went to the College Board of the Presbyterian Church for a co-educational Christian school to be established on the grounds of the Bidwell mansion. The curriculum included agriculture, horticulture, forestry, and domestic classes, as well as a class in "the evil





Annie and John Bidwell on the south porch of the lovely Bidwell Mansion (ca. 1894), which Annie later bequeathed to the Presbyterian Church for a co-ed Christian school. *Courtesy California State University, Chico, Meriam Library, Special Collections*

effects of alcohol and narcotics on the human system, not only physically but in the impairment of all moral, religious and patriotic impulses."<sup>10</sup>

The remaining large bequests reflected other varied interests. They included \$3,000 to the Good Templars Home for Orphans in Vallejo and \$4,000 to the National American Woman Suffrage Association in New York to establish a fund in honor of her friend, Susan B. Anthony. Fully aware of the importance of historical preservation, Annie bequeathed \$5,000 to the Women's Auxiliary of the Society of California Pioneers for a memorial fund for her friend and founder of the Auxiliary, Mary M. Jewett. The money was to be used for the preservation of documents and historical objects relative to early California history. All of Annie's Indian baskets and various curios and books were willed to the College Board of the Presbyterian Church for safekeeping. Finally, she bequeathed the chair given to her father by Daniel Webster to the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, to be placed in their Washington, D.C., Memorial Hall.<sup>11</sup>

Annie Bidwell's bequests, however, do not explain why she became a philanthropist. That answer can be found in her extremely strong religious

conviction, her marriage to a wealthy philanthropic Californian and the expected societal demands of nineteenth century America—which had grown to allow women to engage in volunteerism and social reform.<sup>12</sup> Therefore to understand Annie more fully, it is necessary to look at her in the context of society's attitude toward women in the nineteenth century. Although she was a product of a culture which stereotyped women's societal role as a "separate sphere" comprised of "piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity," she was different from many of her contemporaries because she became a strong public figure in various reform movements.

This new femininity, which dominated much of the nineteenth century, is called the "cult of true womanhood" by feminist scholars.<sup>13</sup> Women were encouraged through mass communication to accept these new roles and to learn how to elevate their families as well as themselves. "To render *home* happy is a woman's peculiar province, home is *her* world,"<sup>14</sup> noted a contributor to a leading ladies magazine in the 1830s. Home was a private refuge from which women "dispensed domestic comforts" to husbands and children.<sup>15</sup>

Annie, like many of her contemporaries, accepted



this belief. During their courtship she told John that she earnestly prayed and hoped to be the help-mate that God intended woman to be.<sup>16</sup> Throughout their marriage she "dispensed domestic comforts" to her husband, but since the couple remained childless, the Mechoopda Indians, in a sense, became her children to feed, clothe, care for, and love. In a larger sense, her "home" and influence grew to include the entire community of Chico. Thus her role as moral guardian extended not only to her family and to the Mechoopdas, but to the townsfolk as well.

In addition to accepting the obligations of domesticity, Annie also assumed another role assigned to women by nineteenth century society. Henry Ward Beecher, prominent Protestant minister, believed that a woman was the better teacher, "and as the molder and trainer of children in the household . . . [was] by far man's superior."<sup>17</sup> For over a decade Annie had taught the underprivileged in Washington, D.C. Once in Chico, she transferred her teaching skills to the Indians who remained her pupils until her death.

Although home was woman's "proper sphere," by the latter part of the century, private housekeeping had been expanded into social housekeeping as discontented women realized they could improve American society.<sup>18</sup> Lacking the franchise, their main avenue for change became the church. Church work would not take them from their "proper sphere," nor make them less domestic or submissive. Contemporary clergymen believed that women's piety made them "naturally prone to be religious"<sup>19</sup> and that they were "fitted by nature"<sup>20</sup> for Christian benevolence. "Religion is far more necessary to . . . a woman . . . than a self-sufficient man," wrote one cleric. "In . . . the woman it would be not only *criminal* but *impolitic* to neglect it."<sup>21</sup>

But religious leaders were not alone in this belief. Catharine Beecher, sister to Harriet Beecher Stowe and Henry Ward Beecher, believed that Christianity gave "woman her true place in society" and that it alone could sustain her.<sup>22</sup> It was religion that sustained Annie Bidwell and led her into philanthropic and humanitarian work. Both the editor of the *Chico Record* and the minister officiating at her funeral service described her as having lived "a Christian life." Thus she embraced the religious aspect of the new femininity more strongly than any of the other features.

Her Presbyterian beliefs were Puritan in origin. As historian Arthur M. Schlesinger notes, "the

core of Puritanism, once the theological husks are peeled away, was intense moral zeal both for one's own salvation and for that of the community."<sup>23</sup> Annie was definitely zealous both for her own salvation and later for that of her husband, the Indians, and the town of Chico. Prior to their marriage, she had written John of the necessity of feeling God's presence in all of her duties and of consecrating their lives to God's service.<sup>24</sup>

Her strong convictions complicated their courtship. "I long to see you a Christian," she had written to him in March of 1867, "both for your own sake, & for your influence on others."<sup>25</sup> Her persistence resulted in John's Christian "declaration," and during the summer of 1867 he accepted probationary membership in the Chico Methodist Church. But Annie was not pleased. Until he became a Presbyterian, she believed that they could not mutually understand each other.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, until he was baptized, she would be unable to pray for him as she "would wish."<sup>27</sup> During the following summer, he contributed land and money to construct a Presbyterian Church where he was baptized on August 30, 1868.<sup>28</sup> Writing his prospective father-in-law, John explained that he had resolved to lead a Christian life so he would be worthy of Annie, whom he described as "an angel of mercy thrown in . . . [his] way to turn . . . [him] from the wide road to ruin."<sup>29</sup>

Annie soon became an angel of mercy to others. Armed with her Puritan moral zeal, and encouraged by both society and her husband, she entered the world of philanthropy. Philanthropy had been a part of American fabric since the beginning of the country, and by Annie Bidwell's generation, volunteer benevolent associations had become an established feature of American philanthropy. Various societies handed out funds for foreign and home missions, for the temperance movement, for the observance of the Sabbath, for the Sunday-school movement, and for numerous other needy causes.<sup>30</sup> But during the last thirty years of the century, an exponential growth in women's organizations occurred. Four main categories emerged: organizations that were church-related (descendants of prewar missionary and benevolent societies), the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, various women's clubs, and the two national suffrage associations.<sup>31</sup> At various times in her life, Annie E. K. Bidwell participated in all four categories of volunteer organizations, serving in an official capacity and donating money.

Her exemplary life as a young woman fitted her



well for future activities in philanthropic and humanitarian work. Born Annie Ellicott Kennedy on June 30, 1839 into a distinguished family in Meadville, Pennsylvania, she was ten years old when her family moved to Washington, D.C. Her father Joseph C. G. Kennedy assumed the duties of Superintendent of the United States Census. Well educated at Mme. Breshaw Burr's school, Annie developed an early interest in both reform and humanitarian work, not uncommon for a Victorian woman of her upper middle class background. She learned her strong religious convictions from her mother. At sixteen she became "a professed Christian" and joined the Presbyterian Church. Soon after, she began teaching a YMCA Mission Sunday school class in a poor section of the city, work she continued for the next decade.

With the outbreak of the Civil War, the twenty-two-year-old woman served as a volunteer nurse in government hospitals.<sup>32</sup>

Her April 16, 1868, marriage to John Bidwell, former congressman and wealthy rancher, and her subsequent move to California partially changed the focus of her humanitarian work. Had she remained in an urban environment, like Washington, D.C., her work would probably have been much like that of any other urban humanitarian—working to uplift orphans, prostitutes, and immigrants. Instead she faced a new challenge—the acculturation of the Indians.<sup>33</sup>

In 1850 Annie's husband had moved a small group of Mechoopdas from Chico Creek to live permanently on Rancho Chico, his 26,000 acre estate in Butte County, California. These Indians



A captivating  
Annie Kennedy  
Bidwell, probably  
about the time of  
her 1868 marriage,  
when she was 28.  
*Courtesy California  
State Library*



served as laborers in his fields and flour mill. This was not his first experience with Indian workers. Earlier he had satisfactorily employed other Indians to work his mine in exchange for food and clothing.<sup>34</sup>

Following their marriage and their return to California, John Bidwell took his wife to visit the Mechoopdas. He proudly showed off the frame houses he had built in an effort to acculturate them. One wonders what Annie's initial reaction was to the poor but proud Indian people on her husband's estate. She soon grew to love them, although she found some of their practices annoying. In turn, they loved and respected her, affectionately calling her "Little White Mother."

**I**t is Annie's work among the Indians over the next fifty years that sets her apart, as a reformer and philanthropist, from many of her contemporaries. She fervently undertook the responsibility to acculturate and uplift the Mechoopda Indians—a job which eclipsed her other humanitarian endeavors, partially because it was often a daily task. Just as she had influenced John to become

a good Christian, she would bring Presbyterianism to the Mechoopdas.<sup>35</sup>

Success with the Indians did not come easily. For over six years she tried to interest them in both religious and educational training, only to have the women hide behind friendly smiles and the children flee like deer when she approached. Finally in the summer of 1875—after adopting a method used at Bethany Mission in Washington, D.C., of giving cloth to the Indian women and allowing them to keep their final product—Annie was able to capture the interest of the Indians. Aided by members of the Ladies' Foreign Missionary Society of the local Chico Presbyterian Church, she organized the Industrial Mission School as a branch of the Presbyterian church group. Class formally opened on June 11 in John Bidwell's cottage office, with nine students meeting twice weekly.<sup>36</sup>

When members of the Missionary Society lost interest, Annie ran the school herself, enlisting assistants when possible. She taught reading, geography, arithmetic, writing, spelling, and sewing



Chico Rancheria Chapel, ca. 1925. Annie spent the majority of her life working for Indian reform, of which Christianizing the Mechoopdas was only one part. *Courtesy California State University, Chico, Meriam Library, Special Collections*



The Rancho Chico Indian band, ca. 1890s. Annie's Indian protégé, Burney O. Wilson, was a member of this band in the early 1900s. *Courtesy California State University, Chico, Meriam Library, Special Collections*



to the Indian women and children. During the 1880s her health declined. Suffering from meningitis and consumption, she was no longer able to carry on her activities at the school. These health problems were only harbingers of future medical conditions that included neuritis and various neuralgic symptoms that near the end of her life left her so severely disabled that she was unable to write or even comb her hair without help.<sup>37</sup>

In about 1879, realizing that the spiritual well-being of the Indians required more than an Industrial Mission School, Annie secured an appointment as pastor to the Mechoopda Indians. She not only conducted church services off and on until her death but also performed marriages, burials, and baptisms. Her position as pastor was unique. No other woman engaged in Indian reform received a similar appointment. In general, Annie Bidwell's work among the Indians was unusual. She essentially adopted an entire Indian village and cared for them personally until her death.

To enhance his wife's Christian work among the Mechoopdas, in the winter of 1882 John Bidwell constructed a small chapel.<sup>38</sup> A close reading of Annie's diary reflects almost weekly attendance at this chapel on Sundays when she was not out of town. The growth of Indian attendance prompted the Bidwells in 1886 to construct a larger structure

in a walnut grove on their mansion grounds. A decade later the structure was moved to the Indian village and enlarged; in 1908 it was incorporated as the Mechoopda Presbyterian Church by the Presbytery of Sacramento.<sup>39</sup>

Although Annie had undertaken her Indian humanitarian work largely on her own, she realized that society was not yet ready to accept the Indians as equal participants. During frequent visits to her parents in Washington, D.C., in the 1880s, she became acquainted with a national organization devoted to attaining citizenship privileges for the Indians. She joined the Philadelphia-based Women's National Indian Association (WNIA), founded in 1879 by Mary L. Bonney, principal of the Chestnut Street Female Seminary.<sup>40</sup> Annie was elected western vice president of the association in 1892, when northern California branches were organized in San Francisco, San Jose, and Chico.<sup>41</sup> She served for decades and graciously remembered the WNIA in her will.

The love and care that Annie expended on the Mechoopda Indians was expensive. She personally contributed toward the education of certain Indian children. One in particular was Burney O. Wilson. A member of the Rancho Chico Indian band and a 1912 graduate of Chemawa Indian School, Wilson attended Haskell Institute at Lawrence, Kansas,



where he was elected treasurer of the school's Y.M.C.A.—undoubtedly strongly influenced by Annie's Christian teaching. Three years later she paid Wilson's tuition, room and board, and traveling expenses to Park College in Parkville, Missouri, where he studied for the ministry.<sup>42</sup>

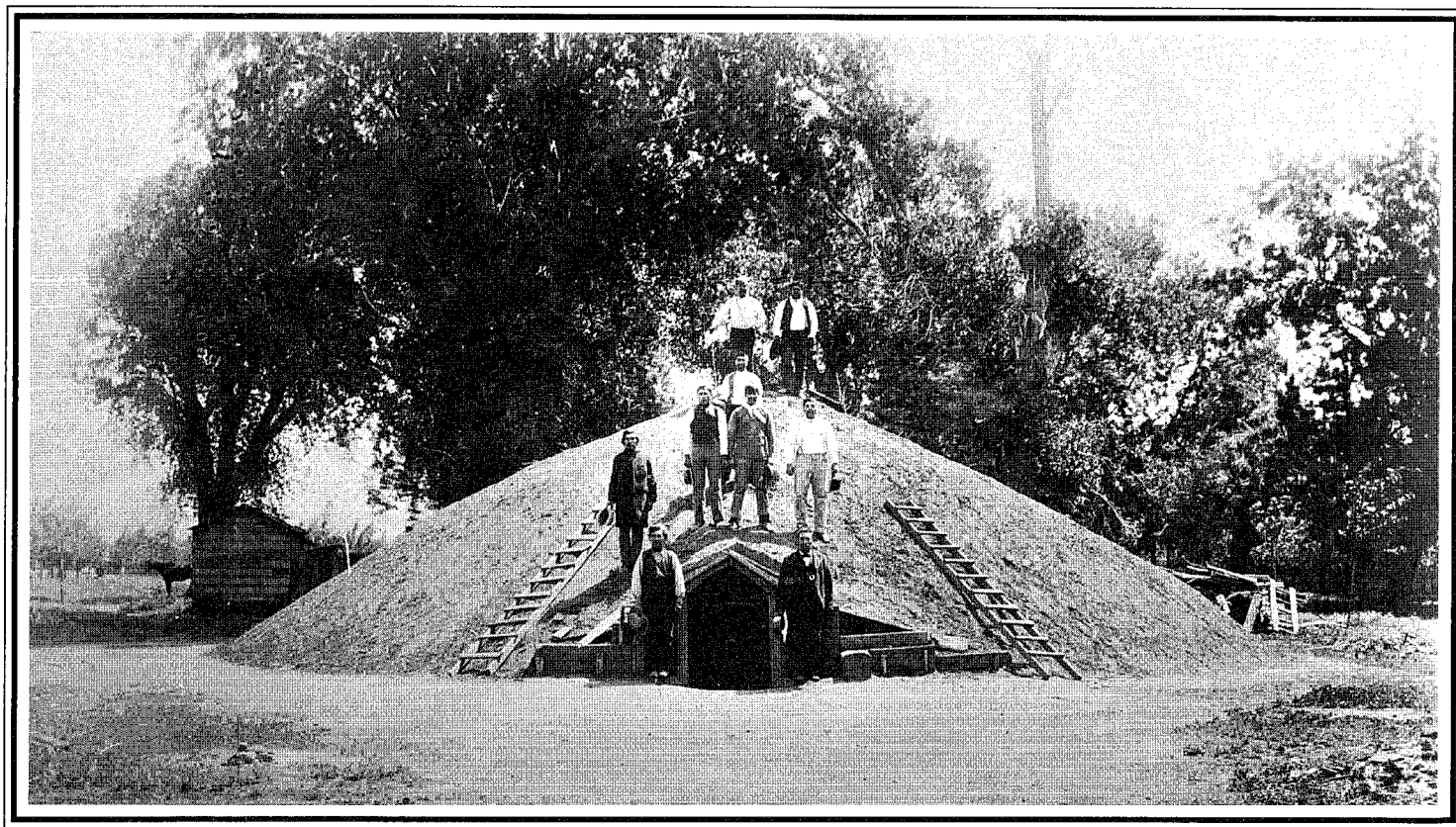
Believing that God and her husband had entrusted the Indians to her, she felt obligated to feed and clothe the elderly and to provide employment for all who wished to work, even if the work was not profitable to her. She paid the old and the sickly full wages for work they accomplished. In a National Indian Association (formerly the WNIA) *Annual Report* she remarked that her heart ached as she watched "full caste Indians bent over with rheumatism, . . . go to and from their work so faithfully day by day." But, she proudly noted, "they prefer to work for their living . . . they do not wish to be idle."<sup>43</sup>

In addition to feeding, clothing, and employing the Indians, Annie also settled their medical bills—

some as high as \$500 in one year. From November 30, 1913 to December 1, 1914, she spent \$1,105 on the Indian village for groceries, clothing, wood, medical attention, dentistry, traveling expenses for students, and caskets for the deceased. The following year her expenditures reached almost \$1,000 on similar items. These costs increased in 1916 to \$1,244 and in 1917 to \$1,300.<sup>44</sup>

The Indians, in turn, were extremely fond of their benefactress. During late January 1909, she suffered from a hearing impairment, and the Indians continually prayed for her renewed health. Once up and about, she ran into one of her Indian charges, William Conway, who with a smiling face and eyes moist with tears, whispered that their prayers had been answered—she was well again. Upon returning to her room Annie wrote in her diary: "To my knees I went on entering my room, & thanked God for my dear people—*My Indians!*"<sup>45</sup>

Annie did not forget them in her will. She bequeathed \$6,200 to various Indians, including



The Mechoopda Indian sweathouse on Chico Rancheria, ca. 1910. Annie abolished traditional Indian practices, such as use of the sweathouse, after John's death in 1900. Courtesy California State University, Chico, Meriam Library, Special Collections



\$1,000 to Burney O. Wilson.<sup>46</sup> Almost a decade earlier, at the request of her late husband, she had executed a deed to the land upon which the village stood to the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions and requested that it be recorded at her death. In her will, she added a fourteen-acre tract and instructed the Mission Board to hold it as an endowment in trust.<sup>47</sup>

Annie's work among the Indians differed from that of other Indian reformers, who often merely paid a hasty visit to a reservation or took a tour with government officials and then returned to write their reflections. She did not distance herself from her subjects; she lived with the Mechoopda Indians daily—spending hours in their homes, visiting and administering to the sick, and serving as their pastor. While other reformers encouraged and sponsored priests and ministers to work among the Indians, Annie E. K. Bidwell undertook the role personally. Thus among contemporary Indian reformers, her work was unique.

Unlike many Indian reformers, who found no value in Indian culture, Annie at least recognized the historical significance of Mechoopda traditions and preserved them through her speeches and writings.<sup>48</sup> But like most reformers, she found some Indian practices most annoying, especially the wailing and singing during times of mourning, and the destruction of baskets and other personal property during burials. The Indian village was moved further from the mansion so she would not be bothered by the noise, and following her husband's death, she was able to have some of the "heathenistic" practices stopped, including the Indians' use of their earthen sweathouse.<sup>49</sup>

Annie's concern for the welfare of the Mechoopda Indians and her brother's life-long struggle with alcohol<sup>50</sup> led to her involvement in the temperance movement. Her husband shared this interest. Even before their marriage, John had the vineyards at Rancho Chico replaced with raisin grapes. In 1892 he ran as the Prohibition Party's presidential candidate, receiving over 270,000 votes, and in 1912 she served as an elector to the Party's national convention. During the 1914 election, Mechoopda Indian men and women voted the Prohibition Party ticket, and "they were grieved when we lost," wrote Annie, "as they realize the curse drunkenness brings to their people."<sup>51</sup> The following year she wrote that the Indians were "one of the inspirations to banish alcohol from our state."<sup>52</sup>

Members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union established a chapter in Chico on Decem-

ber 9, 1883, and elected Annie president.<sup>53</sup> At other times she served as vice president and member of the board of the local WCTU chapter. She also organized a Young Women's Christian Temperance Union which, for years, held Saturday afternoon meetings at her home.<sup>54</sup> In 1904 she gave land to the WCTU for the creation of three public parks.

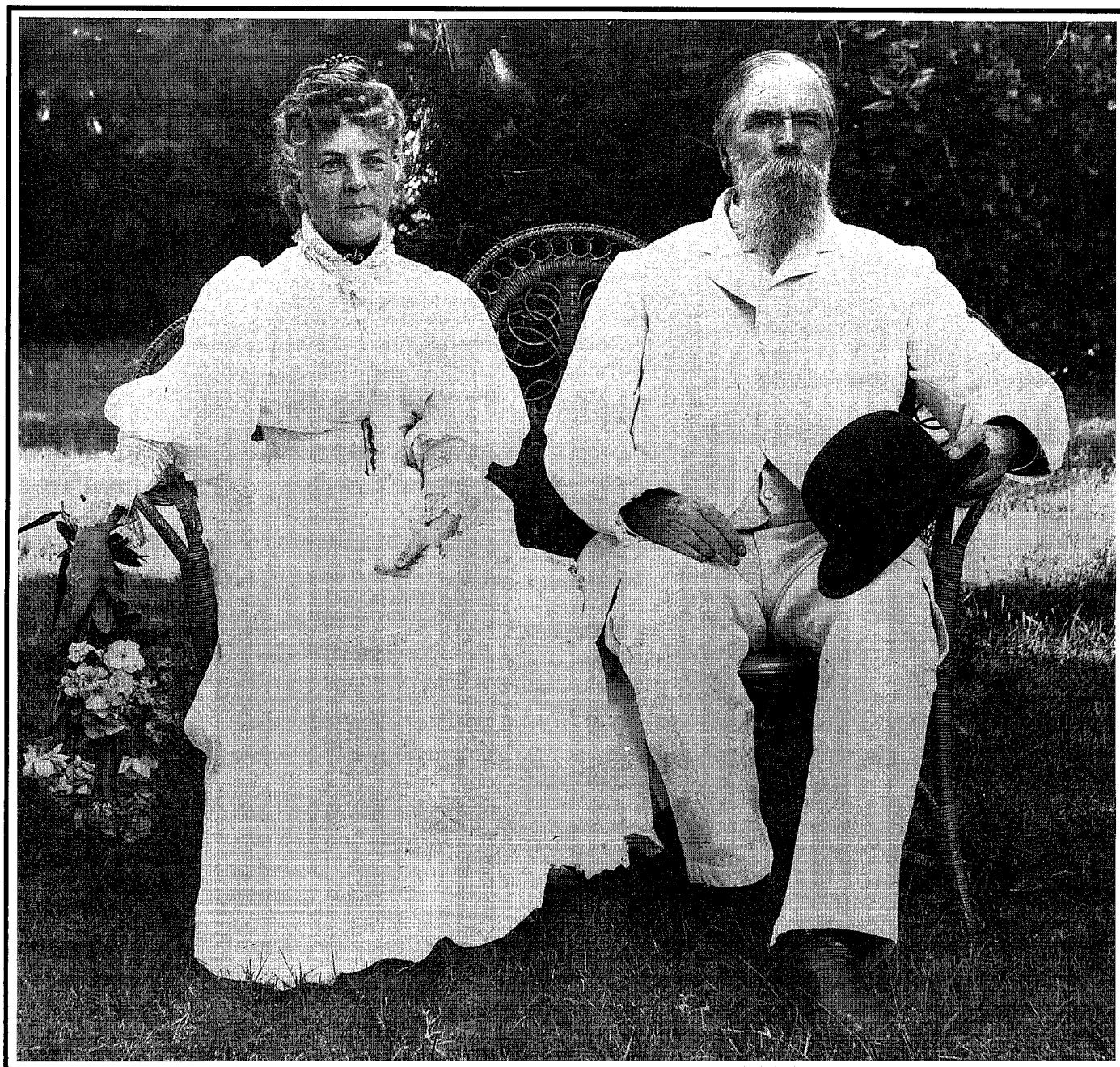
During her lifetime she continually donated money to temperance organizations. In March 1911 she sent \$230 for WCTU legislative work, and a June, 1912 entry in her checkbook showed a \$300 contribution on a formal pledge of \$1,000.<sup>55</sup> In February of 1914 she pledged a donation of \$5,000 payable in six years to the Northern California Prohibition Committee.<sup>56</sup> At her death, bequests of \$27,000 to various temperance organizations reflected her strong interest in the temperance movement.

Issues related to the Indians and temperance work did not totally dominate her philanthropic work, however. In order to obtain the franchise for women, beginning in 1891 Annie devoted time and money to the suffrage movement. She was a charter member of the California Equal Suffrage Association and helped organize the Chico chapter of the Equal Suffrage Association. During her attendance at national conventions she met and corresponded with prominent suffrage leaders, including Susan B. Anthony, who was a guest at the Bidwell mansion.<sup>57</sup>

One of Annie Bidwell's most important and most enduring philanthropic gifts to the city of Chico was Bidwell Park. In July 1905 for \$1 she deeded 1,902 acres of land to the city as a joint gift from her and her late husband as a "token of their love and affection." Four years later she added an additional parcel of more than 400 acres. Five restrictions were applied to the initial donation. Two of them reflected her temperance and church work. The park was not to be used for public picnics on the Sabbath, and the sale of liquor on park premises was prohibited.<sup>58</sup> In 1913 she donated a children's playground along the south side of Chico Creek.

These are but a few of the philanthropic activities of Annie Bidwell. Her diaries reflected numerous ways in which she helped people. Many of her days were spent ministering to the Indians in the *rancheria* village, attending meetings of various benevolent associations, or writing small checks to various needy organizations. For fifty years, Annie E. K. Bidwell played a strong and influential role in promoting Indian reform, women's suffrage,





Annie and John Bidwell seated in their garden. The independence which John accorded Annie from the beginning of their marriage contributed to her life-long philanthropic endeavors. *Courtesy California State Library*



and prohibition—both on a local and a national scale. In addition, she gave liberally of her time and of her lands and money to the less fortunate. Her Christian humanitarianism was of such a scale that by some she was called Saint Annie and Lady Bountiful.<sup>59</sup> She was at home in the maternalistic mold, as a comforter of the less fortunate in the dominant paternalistic society, despite her active work for womens' suffrage.

The rural community of Chico was the major beneficiary of Bidwell philanthropy. Her husband had founded Chico, and Annie carried on his work as generously as funds allowed. The Bidwells were only moderately well-to-do and had to be careful with finances. John believed that the ranch had been mismanaged during his years as a Congressman, but he did not hesitate to build a \$60,000 mansion for his bride. Ranch finances were particularly hampered by the 1873 slump of the world wheat market.

At one time the Bidwells feared they might lose Rancho Chico.<sup>60</sup> John further impoverished himself by liberally granting land and donating money to various causes. As early as 1889 their debts exceeded \$393,000.<sup>61</sup> In the spring of 1904 F. C. Lusk wrote Annie that the ranch was continually running in the red and had been even while her husband was alive. He suggested she sell all real estate except the park she intended to donate to the city and her home and its grounds.<sup>62</sup>

Annie disregarded this suggestion and further depleted the family fortune by her generosity. Following her death, the Bidwell estate remained in probate until 1936 because cash gifts were so liberal that to comply with them much land had to be sold.<sup>63</sup> Every deserving person who came to the Bidwell kitchen door was fed until one day the cook stopped this practice when numbers reached twenty-five during a two-hour period.<sup>64</sup> Annie's philanthropic endeavors would have, no doubt, been on a much grander scale had the resources been larger.

The mutual respect accorded each other in the Bidwell marriage created an atmosphere which enabled Annie to engage in humanitarian work. Shortly before their seventh anniversary, while visiting her parents, she wrote John: "Well I have been a happy wife thanks to a kind Providence, and loving husband. . . ." <sup>65</sup> This happiness continued throughout the marriage, which ended on April 4, 1900, when John Bidwell died of a heart attack. Annie made the following notation in his diary: "My Beloved left us for his home with God,

and so suddenly and peacefully that we know not that he was leaving us, nor the moment when he went."<sup>66</sup>

One of the more important elements of this loving relationship was that John believed that his wife should not only acquaint herself with all aspects of his business but also should be allowed to follow her own interests. Therefore when Annie began her campaign to acculturate the Mechoopdas, John encouraged and funded her ideas. Other people, he once wrote her, "do not see you in the light that I do. . . they see you as a sprightly interesting accomplished lady—but they do not know your firmness to principle—how unswerving [you can be] in your aims and purposes."<sup>67</sup>

In her gentle persuasive way, Annie was definitely unswerving when she set out on a reform or a humanitarian undertaking—whether it be turning John into a dedicated Christian or banishing alcohol from the Rancho Chico *ranchería*. Her endeavors were varied—church work, suffrage, temperance, and Indian reform. In the latter area she was able to combine much of her humanitarian interests. Christianization would benefit the Indians by uplifting them, and temperance would end the degradation of alcoholism.

In accepting John's proposal of marriage, Annie noted that she "anticipated a life of usefulness."<sup>68</sup> In turn her husband-to-be must have suspected that she would leave a lasting impression upon others. During their courtship, he inquired: where could she find "finer fields than California for the exercise of Christian Charity?" As the wife of a wealthy and prominent rancher and politician, she would be "in the front rank of society,"<sup>69</sup> he informed her. Her answer to that question remains unknown, but her actions and good deeds speak for themselves. Not only did she achieve the front rank of society, but she lived a life of usefulness, beloved by the thousands of grateful residents of Chico, both Indian and white, who called her their "Godmother," and who braved a cold, stormy March day to pay her a final loving tribute. CHS

*See notes beginning on page [60].*

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# Ambivalence at the Top:

## California Congressman Charles Gubser and Federal Aid for Classroom Construction During the Eisenhower Presidency

*by James C. Duram*

Debate about the effectiveness of Dwight D. Eisenhower's presidential leadership is an important theme in current American historical scholarship. The earlier more critical views of Richard Rovere and Arthur Larson have given way to the more complimentary assessments of Fred Greenstein and Gary Reichard.<sup>1</sup> The following examination of California Congressman Charles Gubser's experience with the issue of federal aid for school construction suggests, however, that the more recent complimentary views of Eisenhower's leadership deserve careful scrutiny. Moreover, it demonstrates that his ambiguity toward federal policy and funding and the split between moderate Warren Republicans and their conservative Taft-Nixon counterparts sharply limited Eisenhower's potential for effective leadership.

It seems ironic that the Eisenhower administration spent most of the Republican-controlled 83rd Congress (1953-54) moving very tentatively, or, as its critics said, very halfheartedly, while shaping its approach to the issue of federal aid to classroom construction. Beyond a rather belated acceptance of the need for aid to federally impacted school districts, the administration seemed to waver in the face of growing evidence that the exploding American birth rate was creating a critical shortage of classrooms in the public schools.<sup>2</sup> It is undeniable that the problems surrounding the form and allotment of the aid were knotty ones. They were complicated by the determination of many Americans to maintain their traditional local control of the public schools. Yet the question of apportioning the aid seemed to overwhelm the administration's own admission that the need for classroom construction assistance was critical.

Administration decisions to assign the question of federal aid to its conservative-dominated Committee on Intergovernmental Relations for further study, and its insistence that it wait for the recommendations of the White House Conference on Education scheduled for November 1955, underscore its desire to avoid rapid action on the topic.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, whether by accident or design, the Eisenhower approach had encouraged the same deadlock on the federal-aid issue that had characterized the Truman years. Such politically divisive issues as McCarthyism, bitter fights over the defense budget, trade legislation, and growing tension between the conservative and moderate wings of the Republican Party worked to seal the doom of the Republican majority in the 83rd Congress. Thus, when the administration finally did get around to introducing its limited stopgap school construction proposal in February, 1955, it was faced with a number of more ambitious proposals sponsored by members of the Democratic majority, whose leadership saw no reason for the Republicans to take credit for the resolution of the classroom crisis.

Charles Samuel Gubser, whose correspondence forms the basis of this study, was born in Gilroy, Santa Clara County, California on 1 February 1916. The grandson of a Swiss cheesemaker, he spent his childhood on his family's dairy farm. He attended the public schools, graduating from San Jose Junior College in 1934 and the University of California in 1937. After completing two years of graduate work, he taught in the Gilroy Union High School from 1939 to 1943. After 1940, he farmed in the Gilroy area, a region noted then for its fruits and diverse agriculture and in more recent years for its





Aerial photograph of a Los Angeles housing tract south of Manchester, Van Ness and 108th, 1950. The post-World-War-II building boom in the Los Angeles area strained the capacity of existing school facilities. At this school (lower left), temporary classroom buildings have already been erected. *CHS Library, Los Angeles*



A smiling  
Congressman  
Charles S. Gubser  
(R., Ca.) and his  
daughter with  
President  
Eisenhower,  
April 13, 1954.  
Courtesy Dwight  
D. Eisenhower  
Library



garlic production. The Gilroy area had earlier in the century provided the landscape background for Frank Norris' muckraking novel *The Octopus*.<sup>4</sup>

Gubser served as a Republican member of the State Assembly in 1951-52. In 1952 he ran for Congress as an Eisenhower Republican in the 10th Congressional District that consisted of Santa Clara, San Jose, and San Benito counties. He was swept into office on the electoral tidal wave that was to give Dwight D. Eisenhower in the 83rd Congress the only congressional majority he was to enjoy during his two presidential terms.<sup>5</sup>

Gubser's position as an Eisenhower regular, the fact that he remained in office through and beyond the Eisenhower presidency, and the extensive, though sporadic, discussion of the federal aid issue in his correspondence from the middle to the late fifties, provide an interesting window through which we can view the debate over federal aid to education as it influenced the legislative process. That correspondence clearly portrays his own position on the issue and the varied reaction of constituents that combined to shape his public stance on what proved to be one of the most controversial issues of the Eisenhower presidency.

Though several federal-aid-for-classroom-construction bills were introduced in the 83rd Congress, their supporters did not manage to get a bill to the floor of either house until one reached the Senate in 1954, after being separated from a more

comprehensive bill that had precipitated a debate about aid to parochial schools. The 1954 bill died, in part because of administration opposition on the grounds that it was premature. No federal-aid bill reached the floor of the House of Representatives in either session of the 83rd Congress.<sup>6</sup>

Not surprisingly, there are few references to federal aid to education in Congressman Gubser's 1953-54 correspondence. Several factors explain this absence. An Eisenhower loyalist, Gubser agreed with the administration's position on the issue; there was no bill on the floor to stimulate discussion and publicity; and California already had a tax equalization system that distributed state aid on a prorated basis to needy school districts.

References to education in letters to his constituents were sparse. In one, Gubser reiterated his belief that education was the key to progress in American society. He cited with approval congressional responsibility for assistance to federally-impacted school districts, and the Western State Higher Education Compact, though he added the rather oblique comment that some educational matters were in "the interim stage of the legislative process."<sup>7</sup> Nothing in the Congressman's comments revealed his own opinions about the federal-aid-for-classroom-construction issue.

The freshman legislator busied himself learning the procedural ropes and answering his constituents' letters regarding postal salaries, trade poli-



cies, Senator Joseph McCarthy's tactics, whether or not the administration was exercising prudent fiscal restraint, and if he was working hard enough to stop creeping socialism.<sup>8</sup>

On 21 June 1954, an obviously concerned Congressman Gubser wrote a frank letter to GOP National Chairman Leonard Hall discussing his impressions of the 83rd Congress from the perspective of an Eisenhower Republican.

The success or failure of the first Republican administration since 1932 rests on its legislative program. After a year of preparation, a most conservative program, broad in scope and forward looking in conception, has been submitted to Congress. It is up to the Republican majority in both houses to determine what happens to it.

This is what is closely watched by the people and something that being a matter of record, no campaign oratory can belittle or embellish. As a party we should demand of our membership that future division of the type allowed Senator McCarthy and others be stopped, and that first and foremost, emphasis be placed on the most expeditious enactment of the Eisenhower legislative program. Anyone who does not adhere to this principle should be denied the sponsorship and support of the Republican Party.<sup>9</sup>

The results of the Fall midterm elections suggest that the American people measured the Republican efforts and found them wanting. Congressman Gubser and his fellow Republicans would spend the last six years of the Eisenhower presidency on the minority side of the aisle.

The Democratic takeover of the 84th Congress seemed to increase Gubser's resentment of that party's partisanship. On 20 January 1955, he told a constituent: "The Democrats play rough. Despite contrary statements, they are out for one purpose — that of cutting the President's throat."<sup>10</sup> Such an approach, he insisted, contrasted sharply with his previous political experience in California.

Our California approach to politics is very much nonpartisan. I was schooled in the California State legislature under the leadership of the Governor now Chief Justice Earl Warren. His progressive moderation has been hailed by Democrats as well as Republicans in the best interest of humanity in general. I like to think I am that kind of Republican.<sup>11</sup>

Despite his criticism of the Democrats, Gubser's correspondence suggests that much of the partisanship that he abhorred proved to be between the moderate and conservative wings of the Republican Party. He spent a good deal of time rebuffing

charges by many of his constituents that he had become a New Deal Liberal.<sup>12</sup>

References to federal aid to education in Gubser's correspondence during the first term of the 84th Congress are sparse. On 15 February 1955 Gubser informed a constituent that the Senate had taken up a school-construction bill, but that there had been no action on it in the House.<sup>13</sup> On 27 July he reiterated his previous support for impact aid, arguing that the federal government should "... either assume the role of taxpayer in federally impacted districts or continue the present law of providing them with grants."<sup>14</sup>

The third and final reference to education aid appeared in an August 1955 discussion of the ineffectiveness of the 84th Congress.

I still do not apologize, however, for my firm belief that major domestic matters were shelved purely for political purposes. Had you been on the scene and witnessed the political maneuvering by the two parties on the highway bill, school construction and other major items, I am sure you would be forced to agree with me.<sup>15</sup>

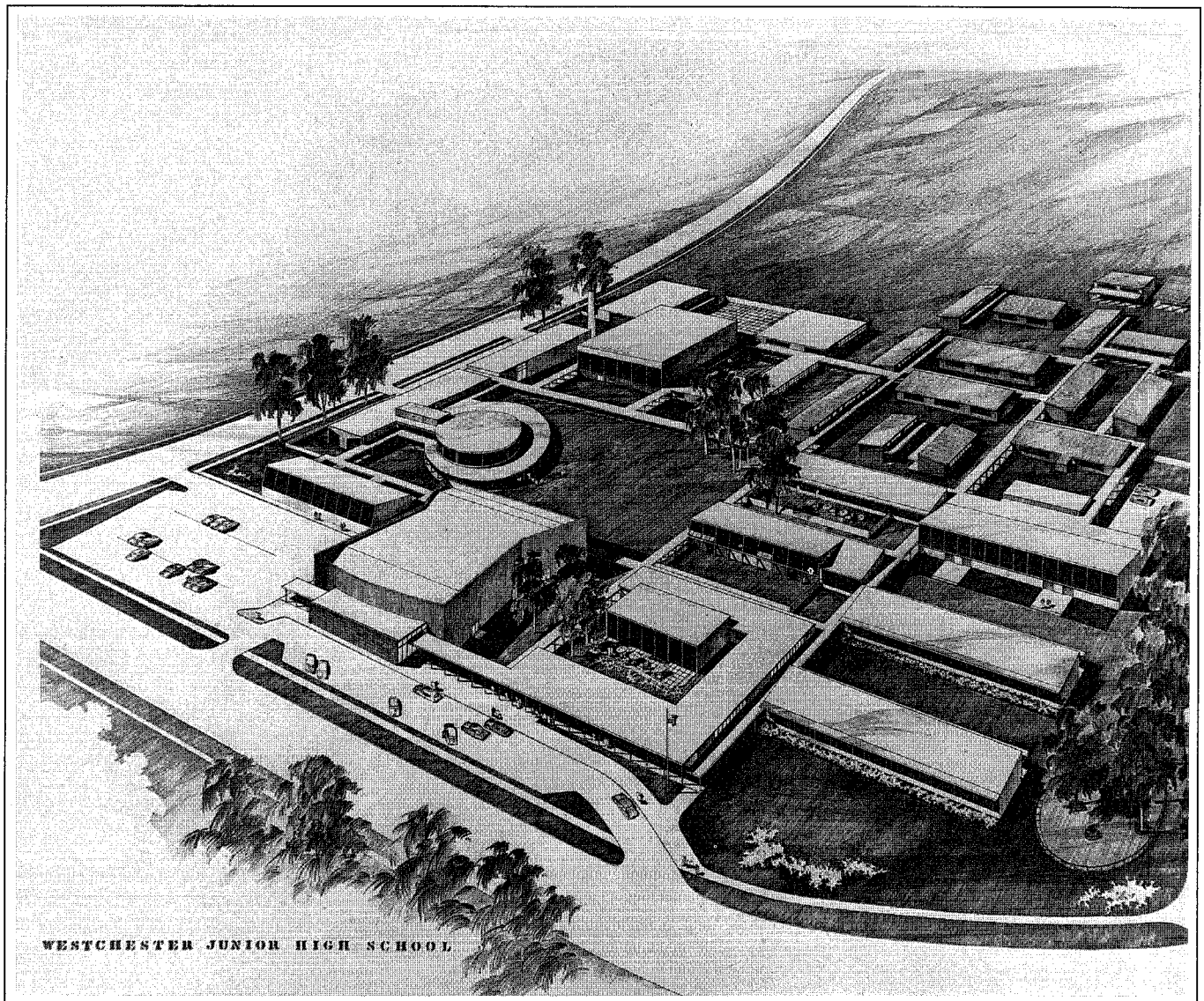
Gubser was convinced that partisanship played a destructive role in the legislative process, one that both parties practiced to the detriment of the country. The school construction bill, then, was the victim of misplaced priorities.

**T**he federal-aid-for-school-construction issue did not become a major theme in the Gubser correspondence until after a bill on that subject made it through the House Labor and Education Committee in late 1955 and finally got to the floor of the House in the 1956 session of the 84th Congress. That bill, known as the Kelly Bill after its sponsor, Augustine Kelly of Pennsylvania, was a compromise proposal containing some of the Eisenhower administration's previous stopgap bill with some of the ideas in the earlier bills advocated by the National Education Association.<sup>16</sup> At the time the bill came to the floor, Gubser made it clear that he favored some form of federal aid to classroom construction. He emphasized that the need was obvious, though he disliked the formula in the Kelly Bill that distributed money to the states on the basis of student population rather than need and the proven efforts of local districts to overcome their problems.<sup>17</sup>

The belated reintroduction of the Eisenhower administration's original school construction bill with its more modest funding and more stringent eligibility requirements brought an enthusiastic re-



Architect's rendering of a newer, more spacious junior high school, meant to replace schools such as the one depicted opposite this article's first page in order to better serve vastly expanding 1950s communities. *CHS Library, Los Angeles*





sponse from Gubser. He compared it favorably to the Kelly Bill in a letter to a constituent who had written urging the Congressman to stand firm for local control of education.

The basic difference between the two school bills is the allocation formula. Under the Kelly bill flat allotment per number of school children would be made. Under the Administration measure, the states' relative financial needs also are considered. I quite agree with you that education is a local problem and that federal control should be avoided at all cost. It should be realized that the current Bill's aim is aid in school housing. This help provides the physical facilities without influencing what goes on inside.<sup>18</sup>

Though initially stated in somewhat cautious terms, Gubser's insistence that federal aid for classroom construction go to school districts with need after they had done everything possible by themselves became his standard response to both the critics and supporters of federal aid during the 1956-57 sessions of Congress.

Unfortunately, Gubser and many of his fellow Republicans' expressions of support for the revived administration bill contributed to the split of the congressional coalition that had gotten the Kelly Bill to the floor in the first place.<sup>19</sup> That, unfortunately for the advocates of federal aid, was not the only factor contributing to divisiveness about the issue.

Shortly after the arrival of the Kelly Bill on the floor of the House, its supporters became embroiled in another controversy that contributed to its demise. Adam Clayton Powell, the controversial Harlem Democrat, attempted to attach an amendment to the Kelly Bill. That amendment sought to deny funds to any school district found in non-compliance with the United States Supreme Court's decisions in the school desegregation cases of 1954-55.<sup>20</sup>

The Powell Amendment put Gubser and many other congressmen on the spot. They received numerous letters from supporters of federal-aid legislation urging them to oppose the Powell Amendment. Because of their strong antisegregation views they found themselves placed in a position where they had to make a very difficult decision—one that forced a choice between pragmatism and principle. As Gubser explained:

I shall be happy to support this bill with or without the Powell Amendment, but I am sorry to inform you that my conscience would not allow me to vote against the Powell Amendment. I am firmly con-

vinced that without such an amendment, federal funds could be used by segregated schools, and I also feel that the amendment is fair in that funds are impounded for individual school districts until such time as they can through orderly processes comply with the Supreme Court's decision. Thus, the Powell Amendment would in no way hold up administration of the Kelly Bill.<sup>21</sup>

Again on 12 April 1956 he stated his reasons for opposing aid for segregated schools. "My reasons are primarily moral, however there is now the additional fact that segregation is in violation of our law."<sup>22</sup> In still another letter, Gubser stated frankly "... that if the Powell Amendment carries in the House, it will most certainly be defeated in the Senate, in which case the responsibility for an act of wrongdoing will not rest on my shoulders."<sup>23</sup> In contrast, Congressman Clifford Hope (R., Kansas) voted to oppose the addition of the Powell Amendment because he was certain that it would lead to a Senate filibuster against federal-aid legislation.<sup>24</sup>

The factors working against the Kelly Bill were indeed quite complex and diverse. It is obvious that many who were unenthusiastic or opposed to federal aid could hide behind the skirts of the Powell Amendment. Gubser does not seem to fit into that group. In addition, there is no evidence of any administration leadership in the midst of this confused situation.

It is also clear that Gubser's support of classroom construction was based on a national perspective, and that his position sometimes clashed with the expectations of his California constituents. Writing in June 1956 in response to a strongly worded letter from a California Chamber of Commerce official, the Congressman said:

This is an extremely controversial bill. On the one hand, I recognize that from a dollar and cents point of view California would not receive as much as it would pay in. On the other hand, the social problems created by sub standard education in some states may result in a drain on California taxpayers. I also feel it is in the national interest to provide decent schools. If I can find some practical approach to require a certain standard of local effort to be required as a prerequisite, I shall do so. Failing this, I shall probably be inclined to support the bill.<sup>25</sup>

Gubser remained true to his conscience when the Kelly Bill with the Powell Amendment attached came up for a vote. As he explained, "I did support the roll call on the Powell Amendment. When the roll was taken the amendment was adopted.



Though the bill was unsuccessful I thought you would like to know I voted for it."<sup>26</sup> The evaporation of Southern support caused by the Powell Amendment and the division among Republicans caused the Kelly Bill to go down to defeat by a thirty-vote margin.

The spring 1957 session of the 84th Congress witnessed a repeat of the 1956 debacle. After the Powell Amendment was again attached to their bill, the Democrats accepted a substitute measure that incorporated virtually every measure of the administration's previous bill. Before a vote could be taken on the substitute, a preferential motion by Representative Howard Smith (D., Virginia), to strike the enabling clauses of the bill (in effect killing it) passed by a 208-203 vote with many of Gubser's Republican colleagues refusing the opportunity to join in support of the administration bill.<sup>27</sup>

How did Gubser explain the events of the 1957 session to his constituents? In a correspondence characterized by increasing numbers of letters opposing federal aid for classroom construction, he tended to take a somewhat more narrow, rigid position regarding the kind of federal aid bill he would support. Typical were his remarks on 2 April 1957:

. . . I will only support aid for school construction when it has been conclusively proven that the state or local school district is not able to provide adequate facilities for itself. This . . . in keeping with my general philosophy that the federal government should only do those things which people cannot do for themselves.<sup>28</sup>

He thus fell back strongly on the proven-need position advanced by the administration in its original school aid bill. In line with his comments, he announced his intention to amend the revised Kelly Bill when it was reported to the House floor. Among his suggestions was the return of 1% of a state's federal income tax contributions for use by each state for school construction.<sup>29</sup>

His explanation of the revised Kelly Bill that the Democrats had presented to gain Republican support is not entirely free of partisan rancor. President Eisenhower, according to Gubser, did not give the revised bill forceful support because of its outright-grant provisions. In the ensuing debate, he explained, the Democrats realized that the Committee bill had no chance of passing and then

. . . announced their intention to compromise and accept the President's proposal which . . . would be based solely on need. In my opinion if the com-

promise had been offered at an earlier date a realistic and sensible bill could have passed. Just about that time, Smith of Virginia, a Democrat, made a move to strike the enacting clause, which in effect killed the whole bill.<sup>30</sup>

Gubser explained that he had voted against striking the clause because he felt there was a chance to work out a sensible bill that did not violate his belief in states' rights, not because he favored the bill before the House. The House vote in favor of striking the enabling act ended the matter. As he concluded, "Looking back, I feel that the President's proposition would have been good for the country, but I do not believe that the Democratic bill which was before us was acceptable at all."<sup>31</sup> What the timing had to do with the substance of the legislation is not clear. Gubser was still willing to compromise. Why not the President? Why did so many of Gubser's fellow Republicans not follow his example? Also interesting for its absence is any explanation of the obstructionist tactics used by Chairman Howard Smith of Virginia in his role as House Rules Committee Chairman to prevent the passage of school-aid legislation.

Gubser's vote against the Smith amendment caused him some trouble. He was forced to refute the charges of some of his constituents opposed to federal aid that he had actually favored the Democrat-sponsored bill with its state-grants component over his previously announced proven-need position.<sup>32</sup> One senses the Congressman's growing frustration over the federal-aid issue that so divided his constituency.

Gubser's attitude about the accomplishments of the 84th Congress did not belie his mood. "This session of Congress is about the most ridiculous thing I have ever attended, and it is dragging on for no good reason," he wrote P. J. Heller. "It has taken us longer to accomplish less than any other Congress I have ever been a part of."<sup>33</sup> Anxious to get on with his reelection campaign, the Congressman had little tolerance for continued work on controversial proposals.

The successful launching of *Sputnik* by the Soviet Union in the fall of 1957 temporarily altered the context and the thrust of the debate over federal aid to education. With a marked shift in official administration policy, the school-construction issue slipped into the background, while the alleged scientific-technological gap between the USSR and the USA occupied center stage. Discussion centered on the most effective



means to encourage scientific-technical education as the basis of our national security.<sup>34</sup>

Taking advantage of growing public anxiety about the Soviet challenge, the administration withdrew its "support" for the school construction program it had so lukewarmly advocated in 1955, 1956, and 1957. (Decreasing support had already been evident by the spring of 1957 and, despite Gubser's explanation, played a key role in the demise of the school construction bill.) Though it still acknowledged the classroom shortage, the administration announced in a letter from Health, Education, and Welfare Undersecretary Elliot Richardson to Graham Barden, Chairman of the House Labor and Education Committee, that local and state construction programs were keeping abreast of enrollment increases and making slow progress in removing the backlog of need. It was important, the administration insisted, that it concentrate on "... other needs and deficiencies in our educational system" which were "... brought into sharp focus by the events of the past year."<sup>35</sup> The result was the passage of the National Defense Education Act.

Congressman Gubser's correspondence reflected this change in emphasis. His initial response to *Sputnik* was a sharp critique of our armed forces for permitting interservice rivalries to slow our rocket missile program. He called for the consolidation of all such activities under one responsible head.<sup>36</sup>

Discussions of educational solutions to the Russian challenge began to appear early in his 1958 correspondence. Gubser saw the problem as one of "... stimulating the production of scientific minds in our educational system."<sup>37</sup> That would include the development of more effective means of stimulating those with ability to use their talents to the fullest. "One criticism I personally have of our school system is that we have placed too much emphasis on mass education," he explained to M. G. Herbert in February. "Though this has proven to be advantageous to those with lesser ability, it has also tended to give mediocre instruction to those with those with superior ability."<sup>38</sup> The superior student thus deserved a more challenging education.

Most of Gubser's 1958 correspondence centered on his support for federal scholarships and loans for gifted and needy students. Much of it also contained reassurances that he would not support any kind of program that would give the federal government control of the educational system. Typical of his position was the following explanation to E. A. Gibbs:

I favor the principle of giving federal scholarships to gifted children who would not otherwise be able to secure a higher education. This in my own opinion is necessary in view of the scientific accomplishments of the Soviet Union. However, I can assure you that I do not favor federal control of our educational system and will vote against any provisions of Senator Hill's bill which will accomplish this.<sup>39</sup>

Gubser objected strongly when the Democrat-controlled House Education and Labor Committee passed its version of the National Defense Education Act because "this bill providing college scholarships under government sponsorship has gone much further than is necessary and certainly much further than President Eisenhower requested."<sup>40</sup> He did withhold his support, and the bill was amended to conform to the administration's recommendation that it not result in an increase in the federal budget.

Public response to the NDEA was immediate. On October 6 Gubser wrote to the congressional liaison officer for HEW, noting that he had received several inquiries from his constituents requesting information about how to apply for assistance under the NDEA. Two of the letters were from prospective teachers who were experiencing difficulty in financing their studies.<sup>41</sup> If Gubser's correspondence is any indicator, the NDEA had the effect of distracting attention from a general federal-aid-for-education bill. Though hearings on such bills were held in both houses in 1958, no bills were reported out of committee that year.<sup>42</sup>

Despite the administration's shift away from support of school construction, the issue refused to go away. In 1959, the National Education Association pushed for the Murray-Metcalf Bill that called for federal aid for classroom construction and teachers' salaries. The administration countered reluctantly by offering a more restricted alternative bill, while reminding Congress of the necessity for fiscal restraint. While the Senate and House committees discussed both bills, neither came up for floor action that year.

From January to June 1959, Gubser informed his constituents that he was in general accord with the principles of the Murray-Metcalf Bill and that he was looking forward to the committee hearings so he would have the benefit of the facts they would bring out about the bill.<sup>43</sup> In April he wrote Chairman Graham Barden of the House Education and Labor Committee urging the addition of a proviso in the bill requiring that federal grants for teachers'





Milling students in front of newly-constructed Ralph Waldo Emerson Junior High School, Los Angeles, 1946. By 1953, when Gubser left California for the 83rd Congress in Washington, the need for more schools to service the post-World-War-II baby boom was critical; Gubser spent his term in Washington attempting to rectify that problem, with little success. *CHS Library, San Francisco*



salaries augment, rather than replace, the portion of those salaries paid from local funds. Gubser argued that if that step were not taken, "... it would be possible for local school districts to reduce the amount of local effort and replace it with federal money, in which case, they could honestly state that the authorized amount of federal money was used for salaries."<sup>44</sup> He had not abandoned his insistence that maximum local effort be the basic criterion for federal aid.

In June he revealed his increasing pessimism about the Murray-Metcalf Bill to a school superintendent from a small community in his district:

I share your views about government interference but admit I am a school man at heart. Frankly, I am hoping that the Murray-Metcalf Bill will be watered down to a position where some benefits will be provided to school systems but some of the problems I see connected with it will be eliminated.<sup>45</sup>

This and subsequent letters suggest that Gubser was becoming more conservative, more alarmed about Democratic willingness to ignore budgetary restraints and push a program that substituted subsidized centralized control for local effort. He expressed his growing disillusionment with the current situation in a letter to one of his more conservative constituents:

I don't think the American people realize how serious the situation is getting. Were it not for the fact that we have become an exceptionally well-organized minority, I am sure that the present leadership of the Democratic Party would have placed us in a tailspin leading to Socialism. At best we can do nothing more than fight a delaying action and hope that some day the American people will wake up to the fact that the solutions to their problems lie in individual effort rather than an appeal to Washington, D.C.<sup>46</sup>

The Congressman closed his 1959 discussion of federal aid by informing a constituent that the political and economic situation was not ripe for the Murray-Metcalf Bill to become law during the immediate future. He did, however, make a prediction: "I am convinced that some form of federal aid will eventually be enacted. If not next year, certainly in the next few years thereafter."<sup>47</sup> He had experienced too much frustration in dealing with that issue in the face of his own divided constituency to go beyond that general prediction.

Gubser's prediction proved to be correct. Though both the House and Senate passed classroom-construction bills in 1960, the bills differed markedly, thus requiring a joint conference committee

to iron out the differences. Unfortunately, the Chairman of the House Rules Committee, Howard Smith of Virginia, a conservative opposed to federal aid, refused to permit the naming of House conferees to try and work out the differences between the two bills.<sup>48</sup>

As for Congressman Gubser, he finished the Eisenhower years about where he had begun—insisting that he supported temporary aid for classroom construction after the local school districts had done all they could, insisting on the preservation of local control, and hopeful that other states would adopt a state equalization formula that benefited needy school districts similar to the one used in California.<sup>49</sup> He predicated his grudging decision to support federal aid for teachers' salaries on his proposed amendment to the Murray-Metcalf Bill that would have required continued maximum local effort to prevent the substitution of federal for local funds.<sup>50</sup>

It is significant that no general federal-aid-for-school-construction bill became law during the Eisenhower years. The discussion of the issue in the correspondence examined for this study illuminates the difficulties of arriving at a consensus on an issue where agreement on the necessity for such legislation became the hostage of a number of conflicting priorities, including partisanship, lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Eisenhower administration, which seemed torn because of its fiscal conservatism and genuine disagreements about the best means to deliver the aid, and the beliefs of many that federal aid would or should be used to hasten school desegregation. Any one of these priorities provided major obstacles for the advocates of federal aid who sought to build a successful congressional coalition. Together, they proved insurmountable. CHS

*See notes beginning on page [64].*

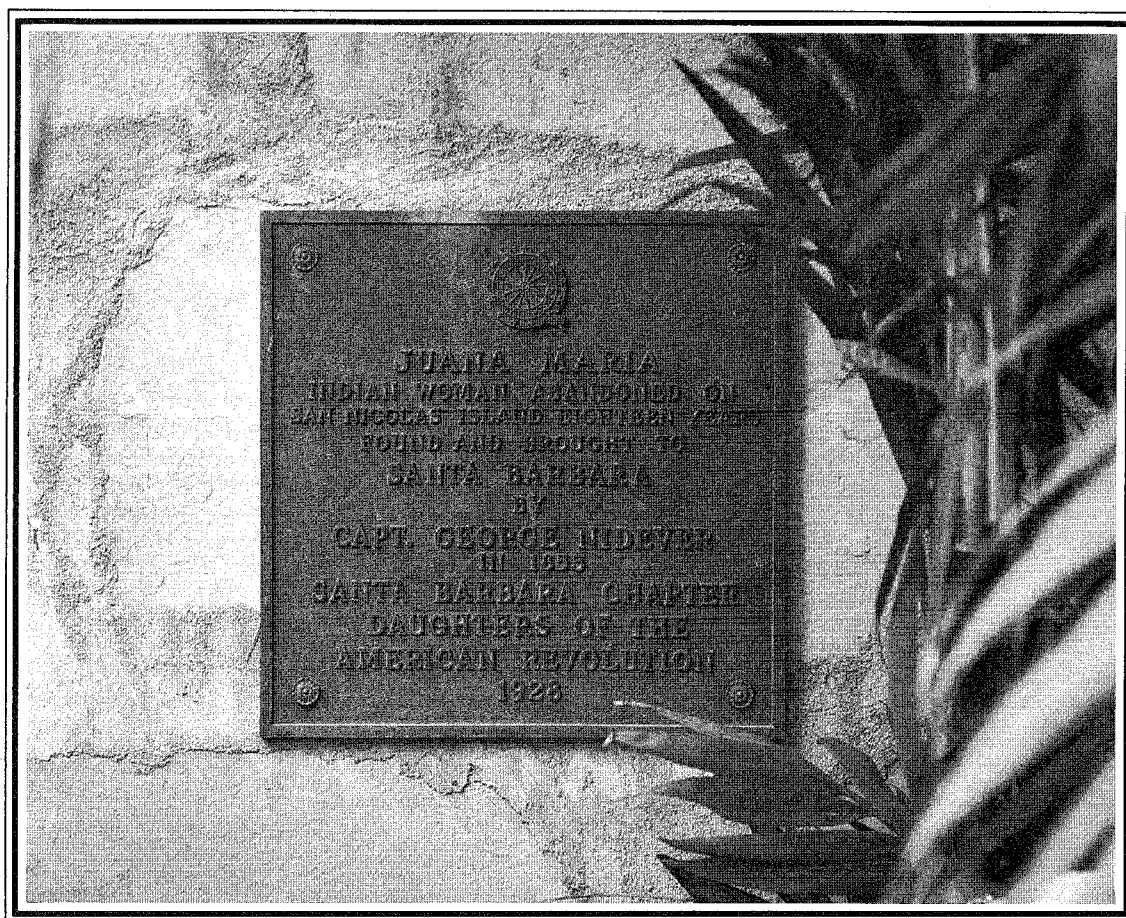
*James C. Duram is Professor of History at Wichita State University. He has authored four books, including a study of Dwight D. Eisenhower's reaction to the school desegregation crisis, and numerous articles. He is currently working on a study of the educational policies of the Eisenhower administration.*



RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

# The Lone Woman of San Nicolas Island: A New Hypothesis on Her Origin

*by Marla Daily*



Plaque in the Santa Barbara Mission cemetery garden honoring Juana Maria, the Lone Woman removed from San Nicolas Island in 1853. The exact location of her remains within the cemetery is unknown. *Courtesy William B. Dewey*



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Was the "Lone Woman" of San Nicolas Island a native Nicoleño? The currently accepted view, as first articulated by anthropologist Alfred Kroeber, is that native Nicoleños were speakers of a Gabrieliño dialect, shared also with the adjacent mainland Indians.<sup>1</sup> New information, when combined with a review of certain previously published facts, leads to the conjecture that she may not have been a native Nicoleño at all, but in fact an Indian from elsewhere. It is entirely possible that her origins were connected to peoples from the north who were involved in the sea-otter trade in southern California during the early nineteenth century.

The story of the "Lone Woman" of San Nicolas Island is well-known. Her abandonment there sometime around 1836, and subsequent removal to Santa Barbara in 1853, have been recounted numerous times. The few recorded facts regarding her language and culture have been studied for over a century by anthropologists because they have been considered to constitute the only source of information regarding native Nicoleños.<sup>2</sup> In 1961, novelist Scott O'Dell fictionalized her story in his popular book, *Island of the Blue Dolphins*.<sup>3</sup> Universal Studios filmed the novelized version in 1964, further heightening public awareness. The late anthropologist Travis Hudson of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History meticulously reviewed both published and unpublished accounts of information concerning the Lone Woman, adding significantly to the body of knowledge available.<sup>4</sup>

Periodically, new information is discovered concerning the woman who was baptized on her deathbed as Juana Maria, as her story continues to be spread both by oral tradition and by scholars investigating further facts concerning Juana Maria's circumstances. A recently-discovered unpublished manuscript by Emma Hardacre, an author investigating the subject in 1880, led to a further review of

available information. Particular attention was paid to the nature of the California sea otter trade, Juana Maria's language, and an account of the physical appearance of her San Nicolas Island dogs. The following is a presentation of facts supporting a new hypothesis regarding her origin.

#### EMMA HARDACRE'S DIARY

During a 1986 oral interview of native Santa Barbaran Isaac (Ike) Bonilla, who was born in 1903, the author was surprised to find among his library a leatherbound book containing undated holograph notes written during the 1870s by Emma Hardacre, Santa Barbara's nineteenth century expert on the Lone Woman of San Nicolas.

Mr. Bonilla, a Santa Barbara historian and collector of "Santa Barbarana," had purchased the logbook some decades ago from a used book dealer whose name had been forgotten. The book, twelve and one-half inches tall by eight inches wide, contains several hundred pages, only six of which were used by Hardacre to write notes pertaining to San Nicolas Island. (The majority of pages, written in an unknown hand, contain accounting information for a business in the year 1866. Seventy-four of the book pages have been covered over with newspaper clippings in the form of a scrapbook, some of which mention Emma Hardacre or her niece, Elizabeth Mason.)

Emma Hardacre had arrived in Santa Barbara in 1876, 23 years after the Lone Woman's death.<sup>5</sup> According to an interview conducted with Hardacre in 1913 by John P. Harrington,<sup>6</sup> she was asked to research the subject of the Lone Woman by three Santa Barbarans—a Dr. Dimmick, Henry C. Ford, and James Calkins. Hardacre's work on the subject culminated in the publication of a popular account in *Scribner's Monthly* in 1880.<sup>7</sup> Of particular importance in the logbook containing Hardacre's



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holographic notes is the following unpublished, undated entry:

There is a doubt in my own mind whether the woman was Indian. There is a rumor that a very short time before the island was depopulated, a woman was cast ashore from a wreck, and that shortly after she gave birth to a child. This information has reached me since the material was gathered for my article as originally published. The search for facts was undertaken by four persons, Dr. (L. N.) Dimmick, Henry Chapman Ford, artist, and James Calkins, Banker all three residing in Santa Barbara and now deceased. They interested me in the subject, and by interpreters the Spanish and Indian residents of Santa Barbara from 1853 were interrogated. At that time (1879) the principal actors in the rescue were living. As I sifted the material the doubt arose in my mind as to the woman being a native Islander. Her manner of meeting her rescuers was not that of a wild woman, but of one who had knowledge of the amenities of life. Her entrance into civilized homes, was not that of a creature utterly unfamiliar with house conveniences—her tact in meeting strangers, receiving their gifts politely, and after they were gone—distributing them among the children of her host. Her conversing continuously in a tongue unknown to any—but evidently a language with which she was thoroughly familiar—no hesitation or forgotten phrases. A search was made for the people from San Nicholas (*sic*) but they were few and scattered over the country, and were never located. They were simply Mission Indians. She told her story by expressive pantomime and what seemed to be an account of shipwreck—swimming—and looking for rescue—the pictures on the wall of the cave.<sup>8</sup>

Hardacre was interviewed by John P. Harrington in 1913, the notes of which were published by Travis Hudson.<sup>9</sup> Nowhere in this interview does Harrington report Hardacre's doubt about the Lone

Woman's origin, and therefore it is not known if her doubts were voiced to him.

#### SEA OTTER HUNTING

San Nicolas Island had long been the scene of sea otter hunting by various nations, including Russia, the United States, and Spain. Historian Adele Ogden identified vessels engaged in the California sea otter trade during the sixty-two-year period from 1786 to 1848, during which political conflicts and competition developed among otter hunters around the Channel Islands.<sup>10</sup> It is known that San Nicolas Island was the scene of some of this activity and conflict. It is also known that women occasionally accompanied the foreign ships. In 1856 the *Sacramento Daily Union* reported:

In the year 1811, a ship owned by Boardman & Pope of Boston, commanded by Capt. Whittemore, trading on this coast, took from the port of Sitka, Russian America, about thirty Kodiak Indians, a part of a hardy tribe inhabiting the Island of Kodiak, to the islands in the Santa Barbara channel, for the purpose of killing sea otter, which were then very numerous in the neighborhood of these islands. Capt. Whittemore, after landing the Kodiaks on the island, and placing in their hands fire arms and the necessary implements of the chase, sailed away to the coast of Lower California and South America.

In the absence of the ship, a dispute arose between the Kodiaks and the natives of the islands, originating in the seizure of the females by the Kodiaks. The Kodiaks, possessing more activity, endurance and knowledge of war, and possessing superior weapons, slaughtered the males without mercy, old and young. On the island of San Nicolas, not a male was spared. At the end of a year, Capt. Whittemore returned to the islands, took the Kodiaks on board, and carried them back to Sitka.<sup>11</sup>



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 looking for rescue - the pictures on the walls of the  
 cave

Emma Hardacre's original diary reveals that there  
 was a doubt in her own mind whether Juana  
 Maria was in fact Indian from San Nicolas Island.  
 Courtesy William B. Dewey



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In 1814, Spain sent orders for its local authorities in California to limit trade with the Russians to agricultural and manufactured products only. As a result of the violation of this order, Russian otter hunter Boris Tasarov, commander of the vessel *Ilmen*, was placed under arrest in Los Angeles in 1815. During his trial, Tasarov stated that he had been in charge of Aleuts left on the Channel Islands by the *Ilmen*. While he and his men had been stationed on San Nicolas Island for seven months, they had obtained 955 otter skins. These skins were deposited on the islands, where a number of hunters were still at work.<sup>12</sup>

Author Phil Orr states that there were more than 450 northwest Indians and 80 Hawaiian hunters on the California coast between 1803 and 1811, some of whom may have become assimilated into Channel Island cultures. Padre Senan of Mission San Buenaventura wrote on June 15, 1816:

Ignacio and certain others of our neophytes returned yesterday from a trip to the Islands where they had gone to look for some gentiles who wished to become converts. Our people brought back 16 of them, and on their first trip last week they brought 20. Among the crowd of yesterday there were four Russian Indians, or from Russia territory.<sup>13</sup>

At the time of the rescue of the Lone Woman from San Nicolas Island in 1853, her rescuing party was itself engaged in sea otter hunting.<sup>14</sup>

#### LANGUAGE

One common thread which reappears consistently throughout the literature is the fact that in 1853 no one could be found who understood the

Lone Woman's language. The *Daily Democratic State Journal* of October 13, 1853, six days before Juana Maria's death, reported:

The wild Indian woman who was found on the Island of San Nicolas, about 70 miles from the coast, west of Santa Barbara, is now at the latter place, and is looked upon as a curiosity. It is stated that she has been some eighteen to twenty years alone on the Island. She existed on shell fish and the fat of the seal, and dressed in the skins and feathers of wild ducks, which she sewed together with the sinews of the seal. She cannot speak any known language—is good looking, and about a middle age. She seems to be contented in her new home among the good people of Santa Barbara.<sup>15</sup>

Both Captain George Nidever and Carl Dittman, who were participants in the Lone Woman's removal from San Nicolas Island to Santa Barbara, stated that although various Indian dialects were spoken to her, she was unable to understand them. They also reported that priests sent for various mission Indians to attempt to communicate with her, but as far as they knew, no one was successful.<sup>16</sup> Hardacre attributes four words given as a part of the vocabulary of the Lone Woman: "to-co" (hide), "nache" (man), "te-gua" (sky), and "pinche" (body). There is considerable confusion as to the meaning ascribed to these words. Kroeber identified them as belonging to a Shoshonean dialect. In December of 1913, Harrington recorded on wax cylinders two versions of a song attributed by informants to the Lone Woman. Musicologist Gary Tegler noted that this particular song was rhythmically unique. To date, a search for familiarity between Juana Maria's words and various northwest languages has failed to find any correspondence. Aleut, Koniag, Eyak, Tlingit, Haida, Yupiak, and Inupiaq languages have been examined, thus far without result.<sup>17</sup>



#### DOGS FOUND ON SAN NICOLAS ISLAND

Both Nidever and Dittman reported the presence of dogs on San Nicolas Island at the time of the removal of the Lone Woman. In notes furnished by Dr. Dimmick, Nidever is attributed with the following statement:

In the neighborhood of the huts near the shore we saw seven or eight wild dogs. They were about the size and form of a coyote, of a black and white color. I have seen the same kind of dogs among the Northwest Indians.<sup>18</sup>

Additionally, the Reverend Stephen Bowers, in an unpublished manuscript now located in the Southwest Museum, states:

In November, 1915, I met at Alamos Harbor, Santa Cruz Island, George Nidever, 70 or more years of age. He was there (with his wife) engaged in crawfishing. His father, Capt. George Nidever, brought the lone Indian woman from San Nicolas Island to Santa Barbara in 1853. The son, though then a small boy, remembers having seen the woman. Nidever told me that when he was about 10 years old he went to San Nicolas with Capt. who went there to kill the dogs on the island and that all were shot that could be found. I presume this was done so that the island might be safely stocked with sheep. He told me that the dogs were of the Alaskan breed!<sup>19</sup>

Captain George Nidever's son was born in 1847, thus placing him and his father on San Nicolas Island to shoot the dogs sometime around 1857, four years after the woman's removal. What stands out as particularly important is the report that the dogs were "of the Alaskan breed." The above accounts lead to the speculation that perhaps the dogs were introduced to San Nicolas Island from the north. Whether or not their introduction to San

Nicolas Island coincided with that of the Lone Woman can only remain speculation.

#### UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

Given the following facts, there is reason to propose that the Lone Woman of San Nicolas Island may have been an Indian from the north, and not a native Nicoleño:

1. Indians from the north, particularly peoples from Kodiak Island and the Aleutian Islands, participated in the California sea otter trade on and around San Nicolas Island during the first part of the nineteenth century. Was this woman on the island as a result of this activity?

2. At the time of her rescue, no one could be found who understood the language spoken by the Lone Woman. Did she in fact speak a language from another Indian territory?

3. Were the dogs on San Nicolas Island, who were described as being of "the Alaskan breed," her companions as a result of circumstances related to her presence on the island?

4. Why did Emma Hardacre, local expert on the subject, doubt the Lone Woman's origin? In her log, she noted that these doubts arose *after* the publication of her article on the subject, the article upon which all subsequent articles have been based.

CHS

*See notes beginning on page [65].*

*An anthropologist and authority on the Channel Islands, Marla Daily is the President of the Santa Cruz Island Foundation and author of California's Channel Islands, now in its second edition.*



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## WELLS FARGO BANK

## *The Elusive Eden: A New History of California.*

By Richard B. Rice, William A. Bullough, and Richard J. Orsi. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988, xix, 620 pp., \$28.00 hardbound.)

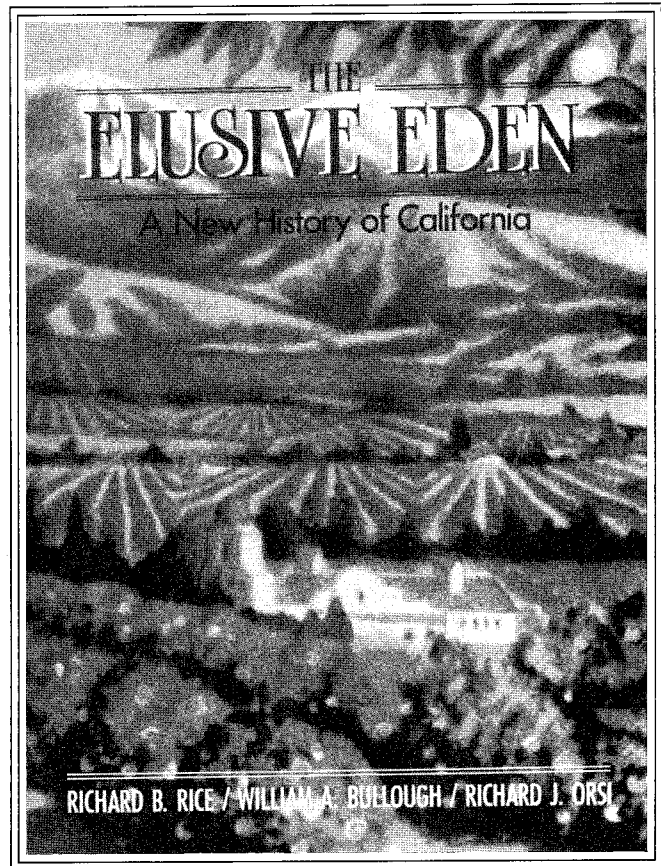
Reviewed by Donald H. Pflueger, Professor Emeritus, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.

A triumvirate of California State University, Hayward, history professors has just authored a new general history of the state that will be equally at home on the coffee table, in the library, or at the desk of a college student. New overall state histories come along so infrequently that they deserve more attention than they usually get; a more common phenomenon is an updating of an earlier work. Californians are indeed fortunate to have so many fine single-volume histories; this new effort is a welcome addition.

First off, *Elusive Eden* is a physically attractive book. The authors have done a splendid job of organizing their material into nine eras, which become Parts, each of which has a good list of items for further reading. Each Part has as its initial chapter an in-depth look at a particular problem, event, or personality, while subsequent chapters carry on with the chronological narrative. On top of these there are thirty short thought-provoking essays interspersed throughout the volume that range from Father Serra to Ansel Adams and from Spanish-Mexican culture to contemporary cultural maturity and diversity. The 185 photographs are outstanding, while the 20 maps are very helpful. If the authors even looked at earlier texts, it does not show. Their teamwork was remarkable; the overall unity and lucid style of writing would make it appear to be the work of a single author.

Without seeming so, the volume is encyclopedic, missing very little despite the fact that in their Preface the authors apologize for cutting "favorite stories." Cesar Chavez gets about equal treatment with Father Serra. Pensioner George McLain made it; pensioner Myrtle Williams did not. Smallpox made it; AIDS did not. Swindler C. C. Julian made it; swindler J. David did not. Jane Fonda made it, but Thomas Starr King, whose statue stands in the nation's capitol as one of two outstanding Californians, did not, and for good reason. This game could go on, and prove little.

We are still in an era of rebellion against an Edenized California, created not only by such nineteenth-century writers as Nordhoff, Truman, and McGroarty, but also by more recent



The cover of *The Elusive Eden* depicts a red-tile-roofed farmhouse amidst orange groves, backed by snow-capped mountains—an idyllic scene of rural California in the early 20th century, taken from the packing label of Redlands Foothill Groves, Redlands, California. Photographic reproduction courtesy of University Relations Office, CSU Hayward

"professional historians [who] bear part of the blame for the state's skewed history." The authors claim that "ideas about race, ethnicity, sex roles, and other questions have also changed dramatically since the 1950s, requiring a reevaluation. . . . Instead of celebrating the achievements of frontier rugged individualism, this volume will emphasize the important role of human interaction and organization." The authors deliver on their promise of a reconsideration, but their history is not the radical departure that they want to make it seem. Recently updated versions of the works of Rolle, Bean and Rawls, Caughey and Hundley, among others, certainly display a new sensitivity to ethnic minorities, the role of women, the various environmental themes, social movements, group interaction, and other previously ignored threads in the California historical fabric. What the authors have done, it would seem, is to push a bit harder in these directions.



Have they, and others, gone too far in these directions is the philosophical question. This reviewer is unsure. It is easy to dwell upon California's record of exploitation, ranging from the rape of the environment to the mistreatment of everyone from the Indians to grape pickers. Greed, corruption, and dishonesty abound, but Californians have also exhibited great humanity, achieved enormous projects for the common good, and made honest efforts to right the wrongs of the past. More needs to be said about these things.

No matter how hard they try, historians seem unable to overcome either their attachments to place or political philosophy. As for place, look at the treatment given to the Gold Rush *vis a vis* the Boom of the Eighties. In *Elusive Eden* the Gold Rush received two whole chapters as well as a prologue to Part IV; the Boom of the Eighties is dispensed with in five paragraphs. Dianne Feinstein rated a portrait; San Diego, now the second largest city, apparently has had no mayor since Pete Wilson and he was mentioned only in context of his favoring slow-growth measures. San Francisco gets its Opera House, but the gays are largely closeted; Los Angeles gets a whole chapter on Aimee Semple McPherson, whose antics testify to "cultural vacuity."

As for political philosophy, it is somewhat revealing that Chief Justice Rose Bird's removal by the citizenry had "heavy sexist overtones" while nothing was said about her stand on the death penalty. Jerry Brown seems not to have been troubled by the medfly, and somehow his budget cutting was humanitarian, while Ronald Reagan's was not. These are isolated and overdrawn examples; overall the history is fair-minded.

If the Frontispiece and endsheets are dreamy, even Edenesque, then the cover and dust jacket are even more so. Both are replicas of an orange box label depicting a red-tile-roofed home set amid a sea of orange trees with snow-capped mountains in the distance, a scene identical to this reviewer's birthplace and childhood home, since enveloped—and devastated—by greater Los Angeles. Hoping for a nostalgia trip, this reviewer was profoundly surprised to find that the citrus industry was passed off in a single paragraph of six sentences, none of which treat of the Eden aspects of citrus civilization or take into account that citrus was the single largest economic factor in the state for a period of half a century.

The authors are to be congratulated on producing a splendid and fresh new history, brilliantly organized, provocative in content, well written, carefully edited, mature and sobering, beautifully illustrated, and certain to be widely read by countless students and concerned Californians. CHS

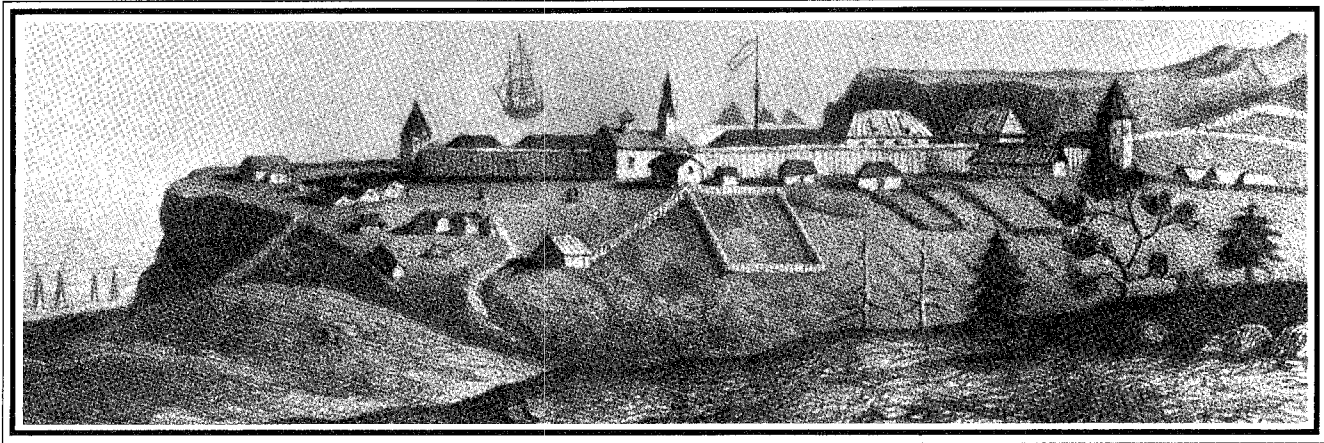
## *Mexico Through Russian Eyes, 1806-1840.*

By William Harrison Richardson. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1988, 287 pp., \$29.95 cloth.)

*Reviewed by Sasha Schmidt Honig, Professor of History at Bakersfield College.*

A familiar figure in California history is Nikolai Rezanov, sailing to California to find help for Sitka's suffering colonists. California *pozole* must have looked like ambrosia to him compared to the dried fish and fir cone beer on which his compatriots were barely surviving. In the first chapter of *Mexico Through Russian Eyes, 1806-1840*, William H. Richardson gives us a glimpse of how Russian visitors from that time to the 1830s viewed Alta California as a "fine and fruitful country," a paradise, abundant in the necessities of life, a land of wheat and meat, milk and honey, a land they would have liked to see in Russian hands rather than Spanish or Mexican. Richardson summarizes the writings of Rezanov, Langsdorff, Tarakanov, Khvostov, Kotzebue, Golovnin, Zavalishin, Khlebnikov, and, finally, Wrangell and gives a good idea of what these men thought of California, its resources, its institutions, and its people.

Although the author hypothesizes in his introduction that Russians differed from the majority of European and American visitors to Mexico in feeling less superior, less alienated, and more at home with the Mexican people and culture, this idea does not apply well to the early period. Instead, Rezanov and the others seem to have reacted to Alta California in much the same way as other foreign visitors. Dana's comment "In the hands of an enterprising people, what a country this might be! . . ." could have been said by any of the Russians included by Richardson. In that era of expansionism, national pride caused Americans and Russians alike to feel superior toward *californios* and their government. Hence, Russians, too, wrote of the inefficiency of the government, the exploitation of the neophytes, the laziness of the people, and the mismanagement of resources. However, the Russian reaction has a special edge to it when we consider the contrast between the starkness of life in Sitka and the relative ease of life in California. As Richardson points out, what seemed to Spain or Mexico as an uncomfortable frontier was a potential Garden of Eden to Russians. No doubt, anyone who experienced the numbing cold of a Sitka winter would regard as heavenly even the densest of California fogs. Golovnin expressed this thought when he referred to California as "a blessed region."



A contemporary depiction of Fort Ross, about 1830. This small settlement, Russia's sole foothold in nineteenth-century California, constituted one of the perceived threats to American "interests" and provoked much debate about the need for westward expansion into California in order to consolidate those interests. *Courtesy California State Library*

Although Russian yearning after California resources is palpable in the writings cited in this work, surprisingly little seems to have been written by the Russians directly about their foreign rivals. Not much was made in these pages, for example, of the Boston men, although Russian grain buyers were in competition with them and knew that the stakes were high; to Sitka, California grain meant the difference between survival and starvation. However, we do read of Russian efforts to pry a favorable trade agreement out of Mexico, culminating in Wrangell's unsuccessful dealings with the Santa Anna government in 1836. Mention is also made of Zavalishin's efforts in the 1820s to persuade *californios* to accept a Russian protectorate. Neither Zavalishin nor Wrangell received much encouragement from the tsarist government. It was perhaps beyond the scope of this book to go far into the reasons for the tsar's lack of support.

Writers made it clear that they disliked Roman Catholicism, that they considered their own religion more benign, and that they were repelled by conditions at the missions. Most of them were well-educated, Europeanized Russians, employed by the progressive Russian American Company. One of them (Zavalishin) was later arrested as a Decembrist conspirator, but one would like to know more about reformist tendencies among other writers, particularly the impact of the Enlightenment upon them. Treatment of this theme is sketchy. In later contexts (e.g., Russian travelers observing peonage in late 19th century Yucatán) Richardson suggests that many Russians

used Mexican subjects as a way of actually writing about Russian social, political, or economic conditions. Russian readers, he says, knew to read between the lines. An intriguing question is the extent to which this might also have been true of Zavalishin or others of his era.

Beyond the first chapter, this work is devoted to Russian views of central Mexico, which will be interesting to Mexicanists, but Californianists will nevertheless find here a convenient and worthwhile compilation of Russian writings on the early California scene. CHS

*Jessie Benton Frémont:  
American Woman of the 19th Century.*

By Pamela Herr. (New York: Franklin Watts, 1987, 512 pp. \$24.95 cloth)

*Reviewed by Robert L. Griswold, Associate Professor of History, and author of Family and Divorce in California, 1850-1890.*

Pamela Herr's biography of Jessie Benton Frémont will be of great interest to the general reader. It is a biography that tells a grand story in an old fashioned way, a story full of triumphs and heartbreaks, big dreams and long falls. From a variety of



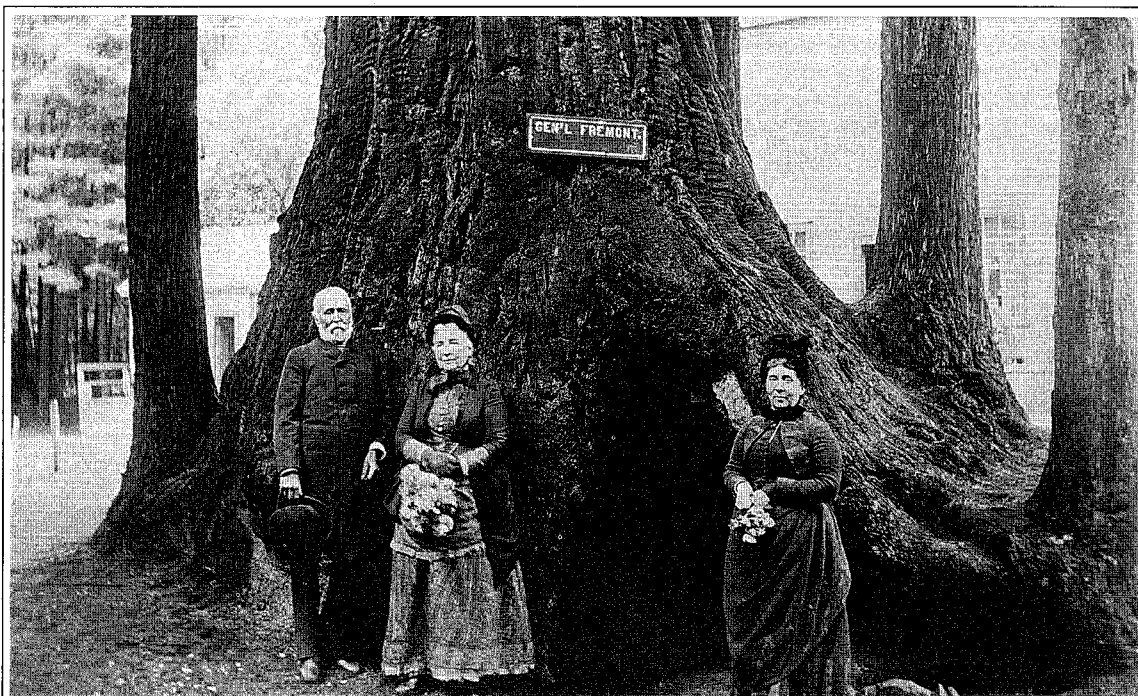
sources, including hundreds of heretofore unexamined letters, Herr sensitively chronicles the life of this remarkable woman, who found herself tied to a man who ultimately failed and to a culture that provided few outlets for her ambitions and abilities.

Herr's primary achievement is to offer a gracefully written, often moving account of Jessie Frémont's life. And what a life it was: daughter of a famous United States Senator, wife of a man of national prominence, Jessie Frémont found herself caught up in the central dramas of the nineteenth century. All of this is well told: Jessie emerges from these pages as a fiercely loyal, ambitious, and romantic woman who spent much of her time and talent defending her sometimes daring, often feckless husband. Herr's work will surely be the definitive biography of Frémont for years to come.

The strength of the book is its narrative sweep; it is also the book's main limitation. Herr seems little interested in pursuing broader questions regarding the history of nineteenth-century women; perhaps, given her subject, that decision was altogether reasonable if not inevitable. Frémont was no Catharine Beecher, whose life and thought was so insightfully

examined by Kathryn Sklar. Frémont made no lasting contributions to any variant of feminism—domestic or otherwise—and her literary works are all but forgotten. She was, as Herr points out, a woman who lived her life through her husband: her joy in his dazzling triumphs, her defense of his dreary failures was her main connection to a world of which she yearned to be a part.

Herr does not shy away from assessing the psychological costs to Jessie Frémont of her secondary status in nineteenth-century America. Frémont's story is one of thwarted ambition, boundless yet deflected energy, and steadfast but often misguided loyalty. What is missing from Herr's account is an effort to assess the meaning of Frémont's life in ways that make use of findings by other scholars of nineteenth-century women. Frémont's ties to other women, for example, deserve more analysis than Herr offers. Married to a peripatetic schemer and dreamer, Jessie lived much of her life in the company of women, yet the implications of this fact are left largely unexplored. Perhaps Frémont did not belong to "the female world of love and ritual," but Herr seems uninterested in the question. Or, to take another issue, one wants to know more about



John Charles Frémont (1813-90) and his wife Jessie Benton Frémont, with their daughter, at General Frémont Tree in Big Basin Park, Santa Cruz County, ca. 1880. CHS Library, San Francisco

her devotion to her husband. Does it tell us anything about the psychological dependencies among middle- and upper-class Victorians? Was her devotion a source of power or dependence? And what of Frémont's literary output? Herr eschews a systematic analysis of Jessie's writing, apparently agreeing with Frémont's own assessment that most of it was "harmless pudding." But was it? Scholars who have taken a close look at the writings of nineteenth-century women have found that women wrote with a different voice and saw with a different vision than that of their male counterparts. Perhaps Frémont's

work is truly without merit, but surely some critical attention to her stories, memoirs, and personality sketches would deepen our understanding of the woman.

These issues—and others could be raised—are of more interest to scholars of women's history than they are to the average reader interested in Victorian women in general or the experience of women in nineteenth-century California in particular. Such scholarly questions and concerns may be beside the point. This is, after all, a book directed at the general reader, and it is, in the last analysis, a very good read. CHS



Although photographed at the turn of the century, Isabel Porter Collins' idyllic portrait still evokes wonderful memories of childhood. Isabel Porter Collins Collection, CHS Library, San Francisco

## *California Childhood: Recollections and Stories of the Golden State.*

Edited by Gary Soto. (Berkeley: Creative Arts Book Company, 1988, 255 pp., \$16.95 cloth, \$9.95 paper.)

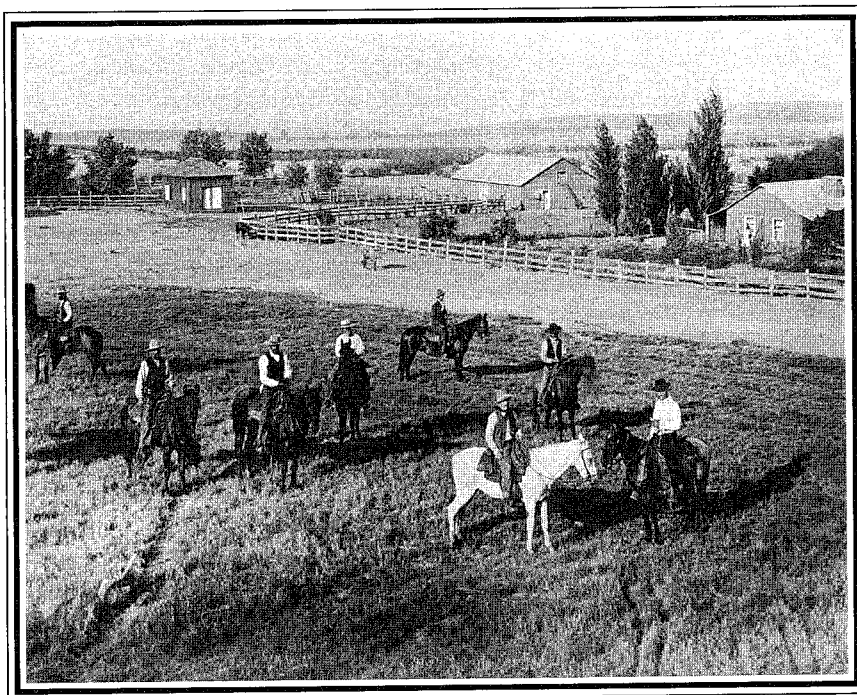
*Reviewed by Jim Silverman, children's historian and storyteller, Larkspur, California.*

Childhood memories fascinate me. I want to ask, "Tell me about when you grew up." I want to hear favorite adventures and misadventures from youth. Yet I do not entirely trust childhood memories. I suspect they are truths distorted by conflicting memory sources. Is this something I remember for myself, or am I recalling my mother's, my sister's, or my best friend's version? This is especially true of an anthology subtitled "recollections and stories." Should this book be considered literature, autobiography, or history?

Editor Gary Soto provides few observations on childhood in California based on these thirty-two pieces of childhood autobiographies by twentieth century California writers. He offers no analysis of childhood, but poetically evokes it. California childhood "sees images of itself learned from TV and movies-made-for-TV, thinks nothing of poor people sharing the same sidewalk with the rich, or the daily bump against people of different colors." To Soto, "Childhood is not only about place, but a response to place."

A sample of opening lines reflects the sense of place and response to place portrayed in the stories. "Five generations of my family have lived in the San Fernando Valley." "I had this dream where I was inside a museum surrounded by ancient Chinese artifacts." "The first time I met Lora she was getting her hair pressed." "For a while, when I was very





Entitled "Vaqueros at Majordomo's Quarters," this photograph depicts cowboys on Tejon Ranch in Kern County, California, ca. 1870s. CHS Library, San Francisco

young, my father was a water witch." It seems curious that some best remember themselves, while others remember their father, brother, or best friend.

Reginald Lockett remembered that, as a tough, black, junior high school student in Oakland, he was sent to a creative writing class. There the staff hoped he would find an outlet for his angry, antisocial behavior. "What had I done this time? Was it because I snatched Gregory Jones' milkshake during lunch a couple of days ago and gulped it down, savoring every drop like an old loathsome suck-egg dog, and feeling no pain as the chump, big as he was, stood there and cried." Poetry pierced Reginald's soul, but left his morals unscathed. "Instead of raiding Roger Smith's Men's Shop, Smith's and Flagg Brothers' Shoes, I was stealing books by just about every poet and writer Miss Nettlebecke read to the class. That's how I started writing poetry."

Diversity and individuality characterize these memories of growing up in California. Like the group of sightless people describing an elephant while touching different parts of the animal, each writer depicts a personal Californian world. How is William Saroyan's sketch, "Guggenheim's Water Tower" in Fresno, related to Maxine Hong Kingston's self-portrait in

"The Quiet Girl" of Stockton? It is fascinating to notice the themes that emerge from the stories; personal growth, rebellion, family relationships, environmental awareness, and the impact of cultural heritage. Since these essays are all crafted by writers, it would be interesting to compare them with childhood stories and recollections by people in other professions. CHS

## Cowboy Country.

By Bob Powers. (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1987, 158 pp., \$22.00 cloth.)

*Reviewed by Judson A. Grenier, Professor of History at California State University, Dominguez Hills and author of California Legacy: the Watson-Dominguez Family.*

Bob Powers is the descendant of two pioneering California families who drove cattle across the plains in 1852 and 1861 and settled on the range of eastern Kern County. Born to the

saddle in 1924, Powers worked as a cowboy, rancher, and forest ranger before taking up the pen in 1971 to write *South Fork Country*. Since then, six of his books on Kern ranchlands and high country have been published, of which this is the latest.

Like the others, *Cowboy Country* has its genealogical aspects. Powers tells stories of local rural families, the famous and the forgotten, in great detail. The book also is highly autobiographical, the author spicing up his history with personal impressions and anecdotes.

The book is something of a potpourri and is difficult to categorize. Early chapters deal with Spanish ranchos stocked with longhorns, breeding and cross-breeding, cross-country drives to the goldfields, and Yankee ranches such as the Miller and Lux. But the author soon hones in on his home territory, the Kern River, and there he remains, except for a summer herding with a chuck wagon in Oregon. Every page is crammed with names and photos of locals.

The author also generalizes extensively on the problems faced and pleasures enjoyed by cowboys through the years, and we gain a realistic picture of life in the saddle. He even offers tips on hunting, cooking, roping, and branding.

The unusual closing chapters contain a reprinting of a segment of Powers-family history originally written for *South Fork Country*, advice on how to run a cattle business today, and proper techniques for grazing on public domain land. Copiously illustrated, *Cowboy Country* includes a 12-page color portfolio, many historic portraits and group shots, Powers' own photos of his neighbors, and maps. There are no footnotes, but sources occasionally are mentioned within the narrative, and names are indexed. CHS

### *Mark Twain's Letters:* Volume 1, 1853-1866.

Edited by Edgar Marquess Branch, et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988, xlvii, 616 pp., \$35.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Richard W. Etulain, Professor of History, University of New Mexico, coeditor of *The Twentieth-Century West: Historical Interpretations*, and coauthor of *The American West: A Twentieth-Century History*.


The first installment of a multivolume project to publish all 10,000 of Twain's extant letters, this noteworthy collection of more than 100 letters, covering Twain's life from ages seventeen to thirty-one, is a major contribution to American and western American scholarship. Useful for scholars in history and literature and equally valuable for biographers and students of early California culture, *Mark Twain's Letters* supplies enlarged perspectives on the opening segment of Twain's career.

Most of all, this superbly edited volume furnishes a more intriguing portrait of Samuel L. Clemens, the Gilded Age young man and aspiring author. Here are illuminating letters about Clemens' experiences as teenage typesetter, newspaperman, river-boat pilot, unsuccessful miner, and finally, by turns, a lionized local, regional, and nationally recognized journalist and humorist. Twain's amazingly rapid rise in four or five years from a dejected prospector to a notorious California scribbler unifies the latter sections of the letters. Here too are Twain's fitful moods of despair, depression, near suicide—and then those of braggadocio, optimism, and exhilaration. Above all, one gets a fuller, more brightly limned portrait of a major American author—the ambitious writer shadowed against the backdrop of an inchoate far-western society and culture of the 1860s.

Scholars as well as general readers will encounter much useful and interesting material here. For specialists, in addition to the fulsome explanatory notes following each letter, there are lengthy appended backnotes supplying nearly one hundred pages of erudite textual commentaries, thirty pages of bibliographical references, and a thorough index. Other appendixes furnish information on Twain's piloting days, maps of Nevada Territory, a gathering of revealing family photographs, and a useful clutch of facsimiles of about ten of the printed letters. But these sections, placed at the back of the volume, should not distract readers interested only in the letters edited and annotated in the first 375 pages. The other forty-five pages of prefatory material contain helpful introductions and a discussion of editorial practices used in the volume.

Although books like this often inhabit only the shelves of scholars, general readers will find more than enough interesting and lively information here to be worth their time and investment. For students of American culture, the early years and ideas of one of our most significant authors are displayed more tellingly here than in previous publications about Twain's first public years. And as citizens we should be encouraged that some of our taxes supplied to such groups as the National



Endowment for the Humanities are being used to support such worthwhile projects as the Mark Twain Papers. 

## *Passage from India: Asian Indian Immigrants in North America.*

By Joan Jensen. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988, x, 350 pp., \$32.50 cloth.)

Reviewed by Alexander Saxton, Professor of History at the University of California, Los Angeles, and author of *The Indispensable Enemy*.

Joan Jensen's complex and splendidly researched study, *Passage from India*, fills a gap in the expanding historiography of migration to North America. During the last three decades, historians reexamining the Atlantic migration (including the slave trade) have placed their subject matter not simply as subsections of national history, but as segments in a worldwide demographic and cultural exchange. This "new" immigration history has proved more demanding than the old because—since it set out to comprehend both push and pull—it required close familiarity with the history and cultures of at least two societies on opposite sides of the Atlantic.

Pacific historians perhaps enjoyed an advantage in that not much existed in the way of older historiography that had to be transcended. On the other hand, the basic spadework of accumulating and periodizing data had scarcely begun; and the difficulties involved in mastering the history and cultures of societies on opposite sides of the Pacific have probably exceeded comparable difficulties facing Atlantic migration scholars. Recent work by historians like Sucheng Chan, Yuji Ichioka, and Ron Takaki shows that Pacific migration history can certainly match the Atlantic studies in quality and sophistication. This body of work, however, focuses mainly on Chinese and Japanese migration. Until Jensen's book, nothing of comparable scope had been attempted with respect to migration from India or Southeast Asia, Korea, the Philippines or the Pacific Islands. *Passage from India* thus not only meets a need in its own right, but points the way to new ventures in historical research.

Beginning with a social and economic overview of late nineteenth century British India, Jensen sketches the Indian dias-

pora, which, like comparable outmovements from China and Japan, swept masses of poverty-line laborers (together with scatterings of aspirant entrepreneurs and even more avidly aspirant intellectuals) into the colonies and peripheries, sometimes into the heartlands, of the industrializing West. Her focus then narrows to a single contingent of the Indian diaspora—those who made their way to the Pacific coast of the United States and Canada.

At once we find ourselves on familiar ground. In the early twentieth century the anti-coolie boycotters and white supremacist politicians who had hounded Chinese since the 1860s and were already in full cry against the Japanese, turned their hostilities on Asian Indians. Immigrants from India were denounced as cheap, dirty, disease-ridden polygamists and corrupters of white womanhood. Based in organized labor, exclusion leagues worked in tandem north and south of the border. Alien land acts and miscegenation laws at the state level targeted Asian Indians, as well as Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos. Jensen makes effective use of individual case studies to illustrate the determination and resourcefulness with which Asian Indians survived, sometimes even prospered, despite these obstacles. But the survivors, and the few who prospered, did so within an environment of ruthless hostility. "Excluded from immigration," Jensen writes, "prosecuted for their political activities, threatened with deportation, excluded from citizenship, denaturalized, excluded from land ownership, and regulated even in the choice of a mate in the states where most of them lived, Indians now formed a small band of people set apart from Americans by what truly must have seemed a great white wall."

One of many impressive aspects of Jensen's work is her ability to sustain continuing connections between the relatively narrow stream of Indian migration to America and the Indian diaspora as a whole, with its global network of political and international ramifications. While Asian Indians on the Pacific coast worked as laborers or strove to hold on to painfully acquired farm lands, other Indians, like Gandhi, were organizing resistance against racial discrimination in South Africa. Indians studied at Harvard and Yale, Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, and Berlin; while still others worked to establish fraternal ties with labor unions and socialist parties in western Europe, Japan, and Russia.

The British government, meanwhile, anxious to guarantee American support in the upcoming struggle for empire, deployed its enormous powers of persuasion and subversion to destabilize Indian immigrant communities and to prejudice American opinion against the cause of Indian independence.

Advocates of Free India were hunted and harassed in North America and around the world by British secret agents, often assisted by their American and Canadian junior partners. With the outbreak of world war, Germany offered sympathetic gestures toward Indian independence, which—whatever other results they may have achieved—served to reinforce British efforts at silencing any sympathetic responses in the United States. President Wilson, when he brought his grand talk of national self-determination to Versailles, had already deleted India from the list of eligible candidates. These events, as Jensen indicates, have poisoned the subsequent history of India. Certainly they helped to sow the seeds of bitter conflict for Indian overseas communities in the colonial empires. CHS

Phelps produced two accounts of his participation in these events: the first, his 1846 journal; the second, written some twenty-four years later in *Fore and Aft: Or Leaves from the Life of an Old Sailor*. The editor, Briton Cooper Busch, points out significant differences and provides, as well, a skillfully written introduction that puts the journal in the context of 1846.

Phelps was a seasoned veteran of the California trade. His involvement in the hide and tallow trade led to a familiarity with the society of the time. He knew many of its leading figures on a first-name basis, was a good observer, had a sharp sense of curiosity, and wrote well. Such things combined to help him produce a journal that is filled with interesting detail and a number of insights into the reality of that time. This is really an insider's view of things. Phelps is not a spear carrier but an important figure on the stage who provides supplies and services to Frémont; hence the title, *Frémont's Private Navy*. His involvement with major figures like Frémont, Sam Brannan, and Pío Pico, and events equally varied make this as interesting and informative, at times, as the far-better-known journal of Richard Henry Dana. An index and footnotes are scholarly embellishments. CHS

*Frémont's Private Navy,  
The 1846 Journal of  
Captain William Dane Phelps.*

Edited by Briton Cooper Busch. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1987, xvi, 75 pp., \$36.00 hardbound.)

*Reviewed by* David A. Williams, *Professor of History Emeritus, California State University, Long Beach.*

This modest but elegant volume, which is typical of the fine printing of the Arthur H. Clark Company, is the 1846 journal of Captain William Dane Phelps, a seasoned mariner on the California coast of the 1840s. It provides a first-hand account of the events which crowded that tumultuous "Year of Decision," when political disintegration within, rumors of British and American naval squadrons on the prowl, and the arrival of John C. Frémont's third expedition of exploration-reconnaissance were portents of fast-developing events. The culmination of these was a change of flags and sovereignty and the acquisition of California by the United States through conquest.

*Chinese American Portraits:  
Personal Histories, 1828–1988.*

By Ruthanne Lum McCunn. (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1988, 175 pp., \$16.96 paper.)

*Reviewed by* Sucheng Chan, *Professor of History and Asian American Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara, and author of This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860–1910.*

History is probably the only discipline left where a non-academic researcher can still make a contribution. This fact has been clearly demonstrated in the last two decades by numerous studies of Asian Americans published by individuals unaffiliated with any institution of higher learning. The




latest example of such a work is *Chinese American Portraits*, by Ruthanne Lum McCunn, who has made a reputation for herself by the "biographical novels" she has written.

Like McCunn's earlier efforts, Part One of *Chinese American Portraits* brings some memorable characters back to life. Included are the life histories of Yung Wing, the first Chinese to receive a bachelor's degree from an American university (Yale, 1854); Mary Bong, who braved frontier conditions in Alaska; Lue Gim Gong, a horticultural wizard; Mary and Joseph Tape, who fought for their children's right to attend public school; Chin Gee-hee, builder of railroads on both sides of the Pacific Ocean; Ing Hay, a herbalist-physician; Lung On, an entrepreneur and gambler; Wong Sing, a merchant trading among American Indians; and Li Khai Fai and Kong Tai Heong, a married-couple of doctors who practiced in Hawaii.

While these biographical vignettes shatter the widely held image that virtually all Chinese immigrants were lowly-paid laborers, they also run the danger of creating an opposite stereotype—that somehow, most Chinese immigrants managed to overcome the hostility against them. Such, certainly, was not the case.

Part Two traces the history of several families, whose members were kept apart for decades because of the Chinese exclusion laws, while Part Three offers glimpses of several notable contemporary Chinese Americans, but nowhere does McCunn discuss how and why she chose certain families and individuals and not others. Readers thus have no idea how representative these people and their experiences may be.

The book also suffers from a lack of distinction between fact and fiction. McCunn begins each life history with a little story to create "atmosphere," but it is impossible to tell upon what documentary evidence she bases these sketches. Moreover, she uses quotations from some of her long-dead characters, but since she does not use footnotes—though there is a list of references at the end of the book—there is no indication where these sayings came from. If the individuals involved indeed said such things, did they speak in English or Chinese, and if the latter, who translated their statements?

Precisely because the book contains so much human interest, it is likely to be widely cited by students and scholars alike. Therein lies its problematic nature: some figment of the author's imagination may unwittingly be disseminated as validated historical fact. The trick is to know which sentences or paragraphs are reliable and which ones are not, but readers really should not be so burdened. These faults notwithstanding, this handsomely produced and nicely illustrated book is well worth reading. 

## *Workers on the Waterfront: Seamen, Longshoremen, and Unionism in the 1930s.*

By Bruce Nelson. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988, xiii, 352 pp., \$29.95 cloth.)

*Reviewed by Robert W. Cherny, Professor of History at San Francisco State University and co-author of San Francisco, 1865–1932. Professor Cherny is currently preparing a biography of Harry Bridges.*

During the past two decades, labor history has been fundamentally transformed as historians have taken the subject out of the domain of institutional economics and made it a part of social history. Instead of focusing on union leaders, the new labor history practitioners have studied labor organizations by examining the lives of workers' and relating the characteristics of workers' organizations to their experiences and values.

Bruce Nelson, in *Workers on the Waterfront*, applies the approach of this "new labor history" to some of the most dramatic events in the labor history of the Pacific Coast: the coastwide maritime workers' strike of 1934; the 1934 San Francisco general strike; the rebirth of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), its transformation into the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) in 1937, and the emergence of Harry Bridges as its most important leader; the revitalization of the moribund Sailor's Union of the Pacific (SUP) under the leadership of Harry Lundeberg; and the activities of the Communist party (CP) in the maritime unions. Nelson's skillful dissection of the conflict between Bridges's ILA/ILWU and Lundeberg's SUP is especially noteworthy.

Nelson presents seamen's lives as characterized by exploitation, degraded living conditions, low social status, isolation from mainstream social institutions, and an international outlook. On the Pacific Coast, he suggests, these conditions produced both the SUP in the years before World War I and an attraction to the syndicalism of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), especially during the open-shop 1920s.

Acknowledging that "the Communist party played a major role in the maritime insurgency of the 1930s," Nelson explores that role by focusing on the actions and attitudes of grassroots CP members, not on the maneuverings of party leaders. The Marine Workers Industrial Union, he argues, was not solely a CP front but attracted significant numbers of non-

Communist seamen who held to a strong strain of syndicalism derived from the IWW. CP leaders in San Francisco in the early 1930s, notably Sam Darcy, sometimes ignored the official party line and worked with AFL unions when that course held the promise of influencing larger numbers of workers. Nelson also provides thoughtful treatment of the role of the CP in attacking deeply ingrained labor racism and in encouraging stable collective bargaining during the Popular Front period.

In explaining the events of 1934 and after, Nelson relies on two key concepts: Pentacostal enthusiasm and a "syndicalist renaissance." In characterizing this as a "Pentacostal era," Nelson intends no religious reference but instead understands "a zealous commitment to new leaders and new, or transformed, institutions and . . . an apocalyptic sense of urgency." He derives the term from a comment by SUP leader Andrew Furuseth in 1929, but uses the term differently than Furuseth and provides no citations to any usage of the term during the 1930s. In the end, this Pentacostal imagery detracts more than helps in defining the era. Following the lead of David Montgomery, Nelson depicts syndicalism as central in the attitudes of maritime workers and their unions, and argues that grass-roots syndicalist sentiments derived from the realities of maritime workers' lives. While Nelson claims that "syndicalist themes cropped up again and again among Communists and non-Communists alike," his examples fall short of supporting such claims.

Nelson's treatment provides an important exception to recent claims by John Bodnar that the workers who swelled the ranks of the CIO were less concerned about ideology than about security, and by Melvyn Dubofsky that the 1930s were, in fact, a "not-so-turbulent" era. Nelson describes workers who were certainly ideological and waterfronts that must be characterized as turbulent.

Nelson is a member of the History faculty at Dartmouth College; this book is a revised version of his doctoral dissertation, done at the University of California, Berkeley. CHS

## CORRECTION

*The editor regrets that in the September, 1988, issue of this quarterly an error was made in a book review by Gordon Bakken of John E. Boessenecker's book, *Badge and Buckshot: Lawlessness in Old California*. Professor Bakken has requested that the following be printed in this issue:*

My review of Boessenecker, *Badge and Buckshot*, in the September 1988, issue of *California History* contains a terrible error of fact for which I alone am responsible and for which I apologize to the author and to our readers. Colorado is a mining camp in Mariposa County, California. My error of fact in the review should not in any way be construed as implying that this book was not carefully and exhaustively researched. Rather the events are carefully described in great detail evidencing the author's close and professional attention to research.

Gordon Morris Bakken  
Professor of History  
California State University, Fullerton



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Charles L. Johnson, Curator of the Kemble Collections  
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The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions, that need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, price, binding (cloth or paper), International Standard Book Number (ISBN), and order address.

Adams, Meryl. *Heritage Happenings: Our Pioneers in Acton, Agua Dulce, Antelope Valley, and Elsewhere, U.S.A.* Santa Barbara: McNally & Loftin, 1988. \$35.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-87461-939-4. Order from: Meryl Adams; Post Office Box 188; Acton, CA 93510.

Atkinson, Janet L. *Los Angeles County Historical Directory*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, 1988. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-89950-301-2. Order from: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers; Post Office Box 611; Jefferson, NC 28640.

Baumgartner, Jerome W. [comp.]. *Rancho Santa Margarita Remembered: An Oral History*. Santa Barbara: Fithian Press, 1989. \$17.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-931832-23-3. Order from: John Daniel, Publisher; Post Office Box 21922; Santa Barbara, CA 93121.

Bearchell, Charles A. *The San Fernando Valley: Then and Now: An Illustrated History*. Chatsworth: Windsor Publications, 1988. \$27.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-89781-285-9. Order from: Windsor Publications Inc.; 9121 Oakdale Avenue; Chatsworth, CA 91313.

Bidwell, Carol A. *The Conejo Valley: Old and New Frontiers*. Chatsworth: Windsor Publications, 1989. \$27.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-89781-299-9. Order from: Windsor Publications Inc.; 9121 Oakdale Avenue; Chatsworth, CA 91313.

Bunnell, David. *Sea Caves of Santa Cruz Island*. Santa Barbara: McNally & Loftin, Publishers, 1988. \$12.00 (paper) ISBN 0-87461-076-1. Order from: McNally & Loftin, Publishers; 5390 Overpass Road; Santa Barbara, CA 93111.

Carter, Jane Foster. *If the Walls Could Talk: Colusa's Architectural Heritage*. Introduction by W.H. Hutchinson. Colusa: Heritage Preservation Committee, 1988. \$40.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-9620538-0-5. Order from: Heritage Preservation Committee; Post Office Box 1063; Colusa, CA 95932.

Clary, Raymond H. *The Making of Golden Gate Park, The Growing Years: 1906-1950*. San Francisco: Don't Call It Frisco Press, 1987. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-917583-11-6; \$12.95 (paper) ISBN 0-917583-10-8. Order from: Don't Call It Frisco Press; 4079 19th Avenue; San Francisco, CA 94132.

Cohen, Michael P. *The History of the Sierra Club 1892-1970*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1988. \$29.95 (cloth, plus \$4.50 postage and handling) ISBN 0-87156-732-6. Order from: Sierra Club Books; 730 Polk Street; San Francisco, CA 94109.

Cook, Edward Magruder. *Justified by Honor: Highlights in the Life of General James William Denver*. Falls Church, Va.: Higher Education Publications, 1988. \$14.95 (cloth). Order from: E.M. Cook; 908 Olympian Circle; Vienna, VA 22180.

Dear Lizzie: *The Papers of John Marsh Smith, 1849-1857/Transcribed and Annotated by the Historical Activities Committee of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Oregon*. Portland: The Society, 1988. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-9617344-0-X. Order from: National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in Oregon; Ma' Carry Hull; 2900 NW Thurman Street; Portland, OR 97210.

Dewey, Phelps (ed.). *Headlines: Front Page News from the San Francisco Chronicle 1865-1988*. San Francisco: Chronicle

Books, 1988. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-87701-542-2. Order from: Chronicle Books; Chronicle Publishing Company; 275 Fifth Street; San Francisco, CA 94103.

Ewart, Shirley. *Cornish Mining Families of Grass Valley, California*. New York: AMS Editorial Dept., 1988. \$39.50 (cloth) ISBN 0-404-19437-0. Order from: AMS Press, Inc.; 56 E. 13th Street; New York, NY 10003.

Gledhill, David and Keith Gledhill. *The Gledhills Portraits*. Santa Barbara: Mission Creek Studios, 1988. \$28.50 (cloth, postage \$1.50 for first book, .50 thereafter; California residents add 6% sales tax) ISBN 0-929702-00-X. Order from: Mission Creek Studios; Post Office Box 23309; Santa Barbara, CA 93121.

Gordon, Marjorie. *Changes in Harmony: An Illustrated History of Yuba and Sutter Counties*. Chatsworth: Windsor Publications, 1988. \$25.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-89781-232-8. Order from: Windsor Publications Inc.; 9121 Oakdale Avenue; Chatsworth, CA 91313.

Grant, Roger H. *Spirit Fruit: A Gentle Utopia*. DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1988. An account of the Spirit Fruit Society of Jacob Beilhart. \$22.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-87580-137-4. Order from: Northern Illinois University Press; Williston, No. 320A; DeKalb, IL 60115.

Graves, Clifford M. (ed.). *Brand Book Number Eight: San Diego Corral of the Westerners*. Twentieth Anniversary edition. San Diego: San Diego Corral of the Westerners, 1987. \$39.00 (cloth). Order from: San Diego Corral of the Westerners; Post Office Box 7174; San Diego, CA 92107.

Hall, John R. *Gone From the Promised Land: Jonestown in American Cultural History*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1987. \$29.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-88738-124-3. Order from: Rutgers Uni-



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- versity; New Brunswick, NJ 08903.
- Helen, Sister Mary, FSP. *Wait for Me: The Life of Father Junipero Serra*. Boston, Ma.: St. Paul Books & Media, 1988. \$3.00 (paper) ISBN 0-8198-8232-1. Order from: Daughters of St. Paul; 50 St. Paul's Avenue; Boston, MA 02130.
- Hurley, Donald. *Alcatraz Island: Boyhood Memories*. Second revised edition. Sonoma: D. J. Hurley, 1988. \$8.49 (paper) ISBN 0-9620546-0-7. Order from: D. J. Hurley; Post Office Box 1376; Sonoma, CA 95476.
- Jackman, Jarrell C. *Santa Barbara: Historical Themes and Images*. Norfolk, Va.: Donning Co., 1988. \$30.00 (cloth, plus \$3.00 postage and handling) ISBN 0-89865-793-3. Order from: The Santa Barbara News-Press; Post Office Drawer NN; Santa Barbara, CA 93102.
- Kazin, Michael. *Barons of Labor: The San Francisco Building Trades and Union Power in the Progressive Era*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-252-01345-X. Order from: University of Illinois Press; CUP Services; Post Office Box 6525; Ithaca, NY 14851.
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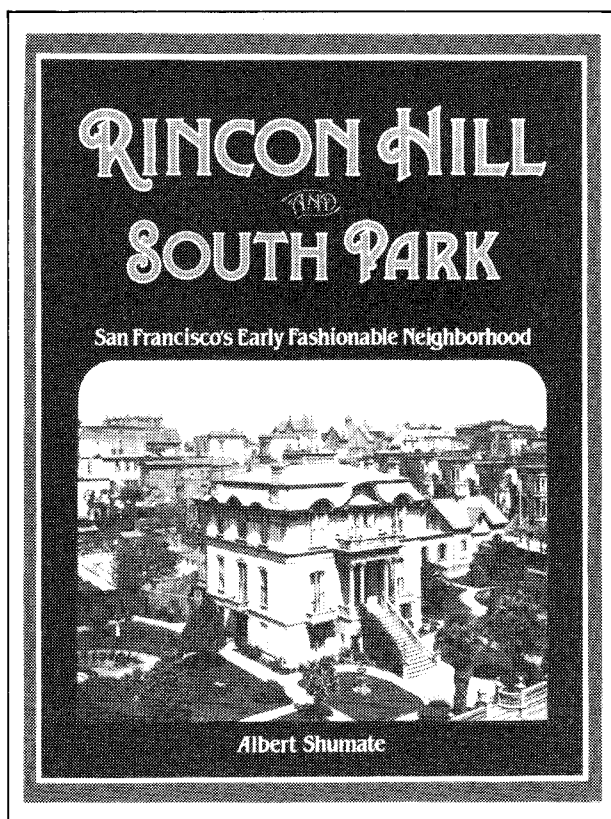
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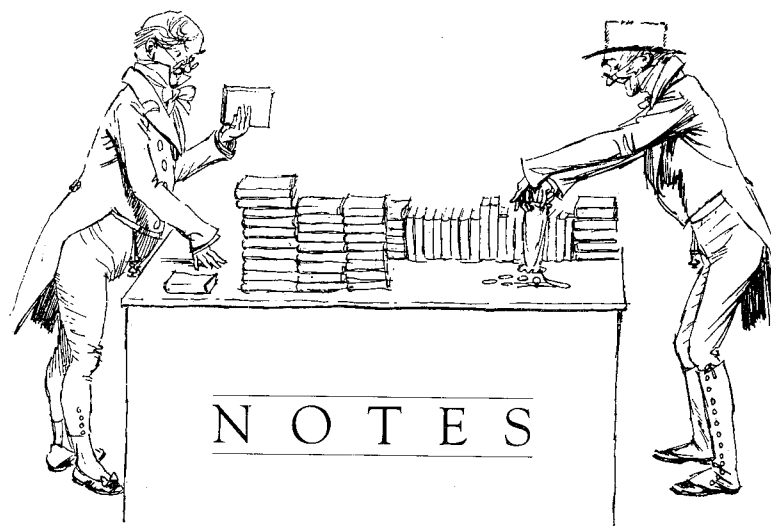
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# **BULLOUGH, "Muybridge and Mint," pp. 2-13.**

1. Robert Bartlett Haas, *Muybridge: Man in Motion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 1-11, *passim*; Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography: From 1839 to the Present* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, rev. ed., 1982), 15-25, 117-23. The photographer was born Edward James Muggeridge in 1830 at Kingston-upon-Thames, near London. Over the years, he used several versions of his name: Edward Muygridge, Eadweard Muygridge, Edward Muybridge, and even Eduardo Santiago Muybridge. He called himself Eadweard J. Muybridge fairly consistently after he returned to California in 1867.
2. Haas, *Muybridge*, 9-12; Newhall, *History*, 110-15; Ian Jeffrey, *Photography: A Concise History* (London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1981), 36-8.
3. *Catalogue of Photographic Views, Illustrating the Yosemite, Mammoth Trees, Geyser Springs, and Other Remarkable Scenery of the Far West*, by Muybridge (San Francisco: Bradley and Rulofson, 1873) lists approximately 2000 separate images. See also Robert B. Haas, "William Herman Rulofson," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 34 (October 1955): 289-300 and 35 (March 1956): 47-58. The Bradley and Rulofson Gallery announced the sale of Muybridge's Modoc War photographs in *San Francisco Chronicle*, 25 May 1873.
4. Treatments of Muybridge's life and work include Haas, *Muybridge*; Anita Ventura Mozley, intro., *Eadweard Muybridge: The Stanford Years, 1872-1882* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Department of Art, 1972); Mary V. Jessup Hood and Robert B. Haas, "Eadweard Muybridge's Yosemite Valley Photographs, 1867-1872," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 42 (March 1963): 5-26.
5. Haas, *Muybridge*, 45-49; Norman E. Tutorow, *Leland Stanford: Man of Many Careers* (Menlo Park, CA: Pacific Coast Publishers, 1971), 168-77.
6. Muybridge's publications gave attention to the photographic processes involved in his studies as well as their results. *Animals in Motion*, for example, is subtitled *An Electro-Photographic Investigation of Consecutive Phases of Animal Progressive Movements*. See also his *Descriptive Zoopraxography, or the Science of Animal Locomotion Made Popular* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1893).
7. Haas, *Muybridge*, 109-120, 194-203; Kevin McConnell, *Eadweard Muybridge: The Man Who Invented the Motion Picture* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972); Beaumont Newhall, "Muybridge and the First Motion Picture: The Horse in the History of the Movies," *Image* (January 1956): 4-11; Gordon Hendricks, *Eadweard Muybridge: The Father of the Motion Picture* (New York: Grossman's, 1975).
8. E. Bradford Burns, *Eadweard Muybridge in Guatemala, 1875: The Photographer as Social Recorder* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).
9. Haas, *Muybridge*, 39-40, 63-78; *San Francisco Chronicle*, 21 December 1874, 21 January 1875, 6 February 1875. Issues of other San Francisco newspapers and the *Napa Daily Register* published detailed coverage of the episode from October 18, 1874, through the first week of February 1875.
10. Burns, *Eadweard Muybridge*, 14-22, and *passim*.
11. Thomas Annan, *Photographs of the Old Streets and Closes of Glasgow 1868-1877*, intro. Anita V. Mozley (New York: Dover, 1977); Arnold Genthe and Will Irwin, *Pictures of Old Chinatown* (New York: Little, Brown, 1909); John K. W. Tchen, *Genthe's Photographs of San Francisco's Chinatown* (New York: Aperture, 1984); Berenice Abbott, *The World of Atget* (New York: Putnam's, 1979). Like Atget, Muybridge sold photographs to artists, including Albert Bierstadt, to use as models for their work; see Haas, *Muybridge*, 20-1.
12. See Haas, *Muybridge*, 81-92; Gunther Barth, *Instant Cities: Urbanization and the Rise of San Francisco and Denver* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975); Wells Fargo Bank History Department, *San Francisco 1878: Portrait of the City* (San Francisco: Wells Fargo & Co., rev. ed., 1987); Paul A. Falconer, "Muybridge's Window on the Past: A Wet-Plate View of San Francisco in 1877," *California History*, 57 (Summer 1978): 130-57. Original prints of the 1878 series are held in the Bender Room, Department of Special Collections, Cecil H. Green Library, Stanford University. The California Historical Society collection includes an original set of the 1877 panorama.
13. Panel numbers refer to Wells Fargo, *San Francisco 1878*. Haas, *Muybridge*, 85-92, numbers them 10, 13, 9, 3-5, 8, and 11, respectively.
14. Congress appropriated funds to purchase the property on 2 July 1864, for construction on 3 March 1869, 15 July 1870, and 3 March 1871, and for equipment on 10 June 1872, 3 March 1873, and 23 June 1874. The Coinage Act of 1873 elevated the Mint to full rather than "branch" status.
15. *San Francisco Alta California*, 6 November 1874; *San Francisco City Directory*, 1872, (San Francisco: Henry F. Langley Co., 1872), 615; "Mullet, Alfred Bult," *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White, 1937), XXVII, 425; "CHC Efforts to Save the Mint Pay Off — With a Museum to Boot," *California Heritage Council Newsletter*, 7 (May 1973): n.p.; S. Allen Chambers, Jr. and others, *The Old San Francisco Mint, 1869-1874 [sic]: Summary Report for the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1969), 12-13, 17-20. Olga Widness, Director of the Old Mint Museum, provided information concerning construction and restoration.
16. Muybridge Collection, No. 9015-9024, No. 9029, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Muybridge scratched "Helios" into the emulsion of about half of his glass-plate negatives.
17. Haas, *Muybridge*, 18; E. J. Muybridge, letter signed "Helios," *Philadelphia Photographer* (May 1869): 142-4. Extremely



blue-sensitive emulsions produced overexposed skies in negatives and almost blank areas in prints. Muybridge's "sky shade" reduced sky exposure on negatives, simplified printing procedures, and vastly improved results. Sky details in Plates One and Seven are so similar that they suggest that the same photographer—not Muybridge—produced both.

18. San Francisco *Alta California*, 1 and 16 April 1869; San Francisco *Bulletin*, 1 May 1869.
19. Chambers, *The Old San Francisco Mint*, 9.
20. San Francisco *Alta California*, 25 May 1870. The cornerstone and its still-unopened "time capsule" are located at the building's Fifth and Jessie street corner.
21. The stone attached to the derrick is numbered C2. N° 28 M; the one on the ground at center right bears C2. N° 39 M.
22. Chambers, *The Old San Francisco Mint*, 21-4; Wells Fargo, *San Francisco 1878*, 7; *San Francisco City Directory*, 1871, 741; Muybridge Collection, No. 9024, Bancroft Library.
23. The Bancroft Library's Muybridge Collection Photograph No. 9023 (Plate Four) is an earlier Muybridge photograph made from the same vantage point as Plates Five and Six. It is a full-plate 10x8-inch print that shows only the basement walls completed. It is signed "Helios" in the lower left corner beyond the gas lamp that appears in Plates Four and Five. Those two prints are smaller (approximately 9x7 inches), suggesting that trimming may have eliminated signatures.
- Muybridge frequently used a short focal length or wide-angle lens on his full-plate 8x10 camera to achieve linear convergence in his compositions. See, for example, his "Steamer *Golden City* on the California dry-dock, San Francisco," Muybridge Collection, Bancroft Library; Bradley and Rulofson *Catalogue*, No. 4123.
24. As late as 1890, only 56% of San Francisco's streets and alleys were paved, about average for American cities; U.S. Department of the Interior, *Report on the Social Statis-*

*tics of Cities in the United States, Eleventh Census, 1890* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 58-62.

25. Posters could be used in conjunction with contemporary newspapers, if necessary, to confirm the dates of photographs.
26. Careful photographers use view camera adjustments to keep vertical lines parallel. Muybridge habitually employed the controls to achieve precise renderings of architectural subjects.
27. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1872, 873.
28. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 23 May 1873; *San Francisco Examiner*, 23 May 1873; *San Francisco City Directory*, 1872, 81.
29. *San Francisco City Directories, 1890-1900*.
30. See, for example, Peter Palmquist, "Frederick Coombs: Eccentric Daguerrean in Early California," *The American West*, 19 (July/August 1982), and other articles by the same author; John Darling, "Peter Britt of Old Oregon," *Darkroom Photography*, 11 (February 1989); Dennis A. Anderson, "Clark Kinsey: Logging Photography, 1914-1945," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 74 (January 1983); JoAnn Roe, "Frank S. Matsura: Photographer of the Northwestern Frontier," *The American West*, 19 (July/August 1982); Richard S. Street, "A Kern County Diary: The Forgotten Photographs of Carleton E. Watkins," *California History*, 61 (Winter 1983); Karen B. Ohrn, "The Photoflow of Family Life: A Family's Photograph Collection," *Folklore Forum*, 12 (May 1975).

## MATHES, "Bidwell," pp. 14-25.

1. *Chico Record*, 10 March 1918, front page, continued p. 8. See also "Mrs. Annie E. K. Bidwell is Called by Death," *Oroville Daily Mercury*, 11 March 1918, p. 6. She died at 6:20 Saturday evening, March 9, 1918. This article is a revision of the paper delivered at the Western History Association meeting in Wichita Kansas in October 1988.

2. "Resolutions Voice Deep Feeling of County's Loss in Death of Mrs. Bidwell," *Chico Record*, 12 March 1918, p. 8.
3. "Mrs. Bidwell," *Chico Record*, 12 March 1918, editorial page.
4. "Mrs. Bidwell, Chico's Godmother, to be born to Resting place today: Flowers to strew path to Bourne," *Chico Record*, 12 March 1918, pp. 1, 8. See also "Benefactor of Chico laid to Rest," *Oroville Daily Mercury*, 12 March 1918, p. 1.
5. "Indian and Babe Cry Their Grief," *Chico Record*, 13 March 1918, p. 8.
6. "Funeral of Mrs. Annie E. K. Bidwell is Held, 10,000 pay Tribute: Truth leads Patriarch to High Plane," *Chico Record*, 13 March 1918, p. 1.
7. "Shaft of Golden Light Plays Through Clouds," *Chico Record*, 13 March 1918, p. 8.
8. "Warm Tribute is Paid to Mrs. Bidwell: Gratitude is Spirit of Memorial Service," *Chico Record*, 19 March 1918, p. 5.
9. For all of the bequests, see Annie Ellicott (Kennedy) Bidwell 1839-1918, "Will, and Codicil," Northeast California Collection, Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico, California. See also "Wells Fargo Bank and Union Trust Company . . . Statement of Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Company," *Ibid.* See also "Mrs. Bidwell Will Filed," *Oroville Daily Mercury*, 8 April 1918, p. 1, 4; "Bequests of Mrs. Bidwell are Legion," *Chico Record*, 9 April 1918, pp. 1, 4.
10. This undated letter to the College Board of the Presbyterian Church can be found in Box 5, Part I, Annie E. K. Bidwell Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.

The co-educational school was never built. The church sold the mansion to the state of California in 1921 for \$10,000. From the fall of 1922 until 1953, it served as a women's residence hall for the State Normal College, now California State University, Chico. From 1953 until 1964 it served as classrooms for the art and home economics departments. Finally in 1964 the California State Division of Parks and

- Beaches took over the mansion and has since returned it to the splendor of the Bidwells' days. See "Mansion May not Have Been Built for Annie but it was Fine Wedding Gift," "Centennial Edition: Reviewing a Century of Progress," *Chico Enterprise-Record*, 2 October 1972, p. 2A; and John Hetherington, "The Bidwells: Benefactors to a City," *The Sacramento Bee*, 21 July 1963, p. B4.
11. For the grant of the chair see the "Codicil to the Last Will of Annie Ellicott Kennedy Bidwell," Northeast California Collection, California State Library, Chico.
  12. John Bidwell was the first philanthropist in the family. He donated land to Chico for a plaza, for Chico State Normal School, for the cemetery and a scenic carriageway, and offered a free lot to anyone willing to build in the new town. In addition, he gave thirty acres to the State Forestry Station, donated land for all of Chico's churches, contributed \$13,000 toward the construction cost of the Presbyterian church, and spent \$50,000 toward the building of the Humboldt Road.  
For John Bidwell's donations see Rockwell D. Hunt, *John Bidwell: Prince of California Pioneers* (Caldwell: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1946), 364-80. See also S. G. Wilson, "The Heart of the Sacramento Valley," *Overland Monthly* 27 (February 1896): 198; John Hetherington, "The Bidwells: Benefactors to a City," *The Sacramento Bee*, 21 July 1963, pp. B1, B4; and *The School Journal* 34 (8 October 1887): 193, found in Box 122, Annie E. K. Bidwell Collections, California State Library.
  13. Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood 1820-1860," *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976), 21-41. See also Glenda Riley, "The Cult of True Womanhood: Industrial and Westward Expansion, 1816-1837," *Inventing the American Woman: A Perspective on Women's History* (Arlington Heights, Illinois: Harlan Davison, Inc., 1987), 63-87; Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: Woman's Sphere in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Barbara Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism and Temperance in Nineteenth Century America* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1981), 2-7, 67, 75, 84-5. For a detailed study on domesticity see Mary P. Ryan, "American Society and the Cult of Domesticity, 1830-1860," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1971. For a current historiographical study of the "separate sphere," see Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History* 75 (June 1988): 9-39.
  14. Barbara J. Berg, *The Remembered Gate: The Origins of American Feminism: The Woman and the City, 1800-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 67.
  15. Mary P. Ryan, *Womanhood in America: From Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1979), 58, 75. For more on woman's sphere see Carol Hymowitz and Michael Weissman, *History of Women in America* (New York: Bantam Books, 1978), 64-75.
  16. Annie E. Kennedy to John Bidwell, 7 October 1876, MS3, Box 1, folder 7, Annie E. K. Bidwell Papers, California State University, Chico, California. This letter is also reprinted in Chad L. Hoopes, ed. *What Makes a Man: The Annie Kennedy-John Bidwell Letters, 1866-1868* (Fresno, California: Valley Publishers, 1973), 65-7. The original can be found in the Annie E. K. Bidwell Collection, California State Library, Sacramento, California.
  17. *The American Evangelicals 1800-1900: An Anthology*, ed. William G. McLoughlin (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1968), 18.
  18. For a discussion on the increased role of women during the latter part of the nineteenth century, see Riley, "Reshaping American Life and Values: The Reform Era, 1837-1861," and "Womanly Strength of the Nation: The Civil War, Reconstruction, and the Gilded Age, 1861-1890," *Inventing the American Woman*, 89-119; 121-51.
  19. Berg, *The Remembered Gate*, 79. See also Barbara Welter, "The Feminization of American Religion, 1800-1860," *Dimity Convictions*, 83-102; Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," 21-3; and Barbara Welter, "She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women's Missionary Careers in Nineteenth-Century America," *Women in American Religion*, ed. Janet Wilson James (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), 111-25.
  20. Nancy F. Cott, "Religion and the Bonds of Womanhood," *Our American Sisters: Women in American Life and Thought*, ed. Jean E. Friedman and William G. Shade (Lexington: D.C. Heath and Company, 1982), 196.
  21. Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 44.
  22. *Women and Religion in America: The Nineteenth Century: A Documentary History*, Vol. I, ed. Rosemary Radford Ruether and Rosemary Skinner Keller (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981), 311. For a detailed study of Catharine Beecher see Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973).
  23. Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The American as a Reformer* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 12.
  24. For the first thought see Annie E. Kennedy to John Bidwell, 17 December 1867, Hoopes, *What Makes a Man*, 79, and Annie to John 7 October 1867, 66.
  25. Annie E. Kennedy to John Bidwell, 19 March 1867, MS3, Box 1, folder 4, Annie E. K. Bidwell Papers, California State University, Chico. This letter is published in Hoopes, *What Makes a Man*, 40.
  26. Annie E. Kennedy to John Bidwell, 26 August 1867, Hoopes, *What Makes a Man*, 59.
  27. Annie E. Kennedy to John Bidwell, 24 February 1868, Hoopes, *What Makes a Man*, 93.
  28. See Hoopes, *What Makes a Man*, 8.
  29. John Bidwell to Joseph G. Kennedy, 15



- October 1867, Hoopes, *What Makes a Man*, 68.
30. For a general study of philanthropy see Robert H. Bremner, *American Philanthropy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Decline of Radicalism: Reflections on America Today* (New York: Random House, 1969), and Merle Curti, "American Philanthropy and the National Character," *American Quarterly* 10 (1958): 420-37.
31. Anne Firor Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 282. See her entire chapter, "Women's Voluntary Associations in the Forming of American Society," 279-94. See also Sheila M. Rothman, *Woman's Proper Place: A History of Changing Ideals and Practices, 1870 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1978), 22-77.
32. "Mrs. Bidwell's Activities Covered Varied Spheres: Was Friend of Lincoln," *Chico Record*, 10 March 1918, p. 8. Hunt, *John Bidwell: Prince of California Pioneers*, 386-7; Hoopes, *What Makes a Man*, 7, 72. "Letter from the People: Some Short Biographies Bearing on the Early History of Meadville," *Meadville [Pennsylvania] Tribune Republican*, 3 March 1897, clipping enclosed with Annie to John Bidwell, March 17, 1897, Folder 21, Box 2, Annie E. K. Bidwell Papers, California State University, Chico; Pamela Giulian, "The Woman Behind the Myth," *Unstill Lives: Portraits of Northern California Women* (The Deering Endowment: California State University, Chico, n.d.), 56; Virginia J. Goss, "Annie Ellicott Kennedy Bidwell, 1839-1918," Master's thesis, California State University, Sacramento, 1981, 4-5; and Oroville *Daily Mercury*, 11 March 1918, p. 6.
33. For an interesting study of the interaction between women and Indians on the frontier see Glenda Riley, *Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1825-1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), *passim*, but especially 1-36.
34. Hunt, *John Bidwell*, 137, 157-8; and "Recollections of Life in Early Chico and of General and Mrs. Bidwell," Helen Sommer Gage to John Sharpe, November, 1972, transcription, Association for Northern California Records and Research and California State University, Chico Oral History Program, California State University, Chico, 3-4.
35. No attempt will be made in this paper to detail Annie Bidwell's work among the Mechoopda and other Indians. For a detailed discussion of her Indian reform activities see Valerie Sherer Mathes, "Indian Philanthropy in California: Annie Bidwell and the Mechoopda Indians," *Arizona and the West* 25 (Summer 1983): 153-66. See also Goss, "Annie Ellicott Kennedy Bidwell, 1839-1918," 21-39. For general information on the Mechoopda see Dorothy Jean Hill, "Indians of Chico Rancheria: An Ethnohistoric Study," (Master's thesis, Chico State College, 1970), *passim*; Dorothy Hill, *The Indians of Chico Rancheria* (Sacramento: Department of Parks & Recreation, 1978), *passim*; and Annie E. K. Bidwell, *Rancho Chico Indians*, ed. Dorothy J. Hill (Chico: Bidwell Mansion Association, 1987), *passim*.
36. "Indian Industrial Mission School," notebook: "Record of Indian School, June 11, 1875-1877"; "Record of Indian School, 1876," all in Box 32; and Annie to John Bidwell, 1 February 1876, Box 89, Annie E. K. Bidwell Collection, California State Library.
37. Mathes, "Indian Philanthropy in California: Annie Bidwell and the Mechoopda Indians," 158-9.
38. "Religious Redskins: Their New Church Dedicated on Sunday," *Weekly Butte Record* [Chico], 9 December 1882.
39. Mathes, "Indian Philanthropy in California: Annie Bidwell and the Mechoopda Indians," 159-60.
40. The goals of the WNIA broadened to include adequate educational facilities on reservations, the upholding of all treaty commitments, allotment of land in severalty to Indians, and full rights for all Indians under the law. For a detailed discussion of the WNIA see Helen M. Wanken, "'Women's Sphere' and Indian Reform: The Women's National Indian Association, 1879-1901" (Ph.D. diss., Marquette University, 1981). In 1902 the organization changed its name to the National Indian Association.
- Unfortunately scholars of women's reform groups have totally neglected the role of the WNIA which, ironically, in organization, resembled the much better known Women's Christian Temperance Union. The WNIA continued its work in behalf of the Native Americans until 1950 and deserves to be included among the various benevolent volunteer organizations that nineteenth century women joined.
41. On August 10, 1891, a branch was organized at San Francisco, followed by one at San Jose on July 23, 1894, and a branch in Chico the following year. Women's National Indian Association [WNIA], *Annual Report* (Philadelphia, December, 1893), 20; *Annual Report* (Philadelphia, December, 1894), 24; *Annual Report* (Philadelphia, December, 1895), 23.
42. Haskell Institute, *YMCA Bulletin*, II (April 1913): 1; Burney O. Wilson to Annie Bidwell, 2 September 1916, Boxes 31 and 32, respectively, Annie E. K. Bidwell Collection, California State Library; and NIA [WNIA], *Annual Reports* (New York, December, 1913), 24; NIA [WNIA], *Annual Report* (New York, December, 1917), 16-17. See also Burney O. Wilson to Annie Bidwell, 31 March 1913, MS3 Box 3, fd. 28, Annie Ellicott (Kennedy) Bidwell Papers, California State University, Chico, in which he thanks her for money and tells her of his election as treasurer of the YMCA. See also Burney O. Wilson to Annie Bidwell, 2 September 1916, Box 32, Annie E. K. Bidwell Collection, California State Library in which he writes that he hopes to become a minister and needs money to attend Park College.
43. NIA [WNIA], *Annual Report* (New York, December, 1915), 19.
44. NIA, *Annual Report* (December, 1913), 26;

- Annual Report* (December, 1914), 17; *Annual Report* (December, 1915), 10; *Annual Report* (December, 1916), 18; and *Annual Report* (December, 1917), 16.
45. Annie E. K. Bidwell Diary, 13 February 1909, Vol. 15, Reel 3, Annie E. K. Bidwell Collection, California State Library.
46. Annie Ellicott (Kennedy) Bidwell, "Will and Codicil," 7 Northeast California Collection, California State University, Chico.
47. The particular legacy proved a burden for the Presbyterian Board of Missions. They refused to accept title to any of the property including her home and grounds because they had no funds with which to administer it. The State of California purchased the mansion and grounds in 1923 as part of the College campus. For more on this see Annie H. Currie, "Bidwell Rancheria," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 36 (December 1957): 313-25; and Currie, "Bidwell Rancheria," *Butte County Historical Society Diggins* 4 (Fall 1960): 7-8. See also "Unrecorded Deed Shows Land Grant to Chico Indians," *Chico Enterprise Record*, 22 May 1934, pp. 1, 2.
48. A. K. Bidwell, "The Mechoopdas, or Rancho Chico Indians," *Overland Monthly* 27 (February 1896): 204-10; Mrs. Annie Kennedy Bidwell, "An Example of Indian Civilization," *The Women's National Indian Association* (November 1891), 1-8 (reprinted in Annie E. K. Bidwell, *Rancho Chico Indians*, ed. Dorothy J. Hill, 8-16); Annie E. K. Bidwell, "Sketch of address, regarding needs of California Indians—dictated in 1906," MS3, Box 2, fd. 25, Annie Ellicott (Kennedy) Bidwell Papers, California State University, Chico (reprinted in Bidwell, *Rancho Chico Indians*, 53-64); Annie E. K. Bidwell, "The Indians of California," MS3, Box 2, fd. 35, Bidwell Papers, California State University, Chico (reprinted in Bidwell, *Rancho Chico Indians*, 17-21), and Annie E. K. Bidwell "My theme to day is the Mechoopda Indians as they were when I saw them. . .," Northeast California Collection, California State University, Chico (reprinted in Bidwell, *Rancho Chico Indians*, 22-51). Annie E. K. Bidwell Papers in both the State Library, Sacramento, and at the Bancroft Library, the University of California, have copies of these various speeches and articles. See also Hill, "Partial Reconstruction of Aboriginal Life and the Missionary Influence of Annie E. K. Bidwell, 1868-1918," *The Indians of Chico Rancheria*, 45-71.
49. Mathes, "Indian Philanthropy in California," 156, 160, and Annie E. K. Bidwell, "My theme today is the Mechoopda Indians as they were when I saw them. . .," Northeast California Collection, California State Library, Chico. See also Hill, *The Indians of Chico Rancheria*, 48-52.
50. Helen Sommer Gage, "Recollections of Life in Early Chico and of General and Mrs. Bidwell," 13-14.
51. "Work of Our Western Vice-President," NIA, *Annual Report* (New York, December 1914), 17.
52. NIA, *Annual Report* (New York, December, 1915), 19.
53. "Annie Bidwell—a Woman of Love for Mankind and Determination," *Chico Enterprise Record* (October 2, 1972), p. 2A. Box 36, 37, and 38, of the Annie E. K. Bidwell Collection, California State Library are devoted to the temperance work of Annie and John. See also conference paper, Renee Kogel, "Annie Bidwell: The Lady as Reformer," (California State University, Chico, n.d.), 8-27.
54. Annie E. K. Bidwell Diary, February 4, 1888, Vol. 1, Reel 1, Annie E. K. Bidwell Collection, California State Library.
55. March 21, 1911 receipt from the Treasurer of the WCTU of California, and 16 June 1912 check to Charles R. Jones for National Prohibition work, Boxes 38 and 39, respectively, Annie E. K. Bidwell Collection, California State Library.
56. C. E. Pitts to Annie Bidwell, 11 December 1916, Box 38, Annie E. K. Bidwell Collection, California State Library. In his letter Pitts thanked Annie for her February 23, 1914 pledge of \$5,000.
57. For an interesting thank-you letter from Mary S. Anthony, Susan's sister, see Anthony to Annie Bidwell, 13 August 1905, Box 3, Part I, Annie E. K. Bidwell Papers, Bancroft Library.
58. Deed, 10 July 1905, Annie E. K. Bidwell Papers, California State University, Chico. "Mrs. Bidwell Bestows Most Precious Gifts of Nature on Chico," *Chico Record*, 10 March 1918, p. 1; and Hetherington, "The Bidwells: Benefactors to a City," July 21, 1963, pp. B1, B4. See also Mary Frank Browne to Annie, 11 January 1906, Box 39, Annie E. K. Bidwell Collection, California State Library.
59. In a 2 October 1911 letter to Annie Bidwell, Marie C. Brehen, of the Temperance Committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America called her Saint Annie. Annie was called "Chico's Lady Bountiful," in "Tribute to a Great Woman," *The Home Alliance* 24 (10 June 1915): 4. Boxes 38 and 122 respectively, Annie E. K. Bidwell Collection, California State Library.
60. Goss, "Annie Ellicott Kennedy Bidwell, 1839-1918," 47-8. See also Gage, "Recollections of Life in Early Chico and of General and Mrs. Bidwell," 12-13.
61. C. C. Royce to Annie Bidwell, 12 April 1904, [file, Royce, Charles] Box 5, Part I, Annie E. K. Bidwell Papers, Bancroft Library.
62. F. C. Lusk to Annie Bidwell, 14 March 1904, MS3, Box 2, fd. 25, Annie Ellicott (Kennedy) Bidwell Papers, California State University, Chico.
63. Hetherington, "The Bidwells: Benefactors to a City," p. B4.
64. Notes of Marjorie A. Pingrey, n.d., MS3, Box 2, fd 33, Annie Ellicott (Kennedy) Bidwell Papers, California State University, Chico. As a teenager Pingrey worked for Mrs. Bidwell for several years.
65. Annie to John Bidwell, 22 December 1874, Box 87, Annie E. K. Bidwell Collection, California State Library.
66. Diary, John Bidwell, 4 April 1900, Vol. 35, John Bidwell Collection, California State Library.



67. Annie Bidwell speech, "Cooperation," undated draft; John Bidwell to Annie, 7 March 1875, Boxes 120 and 44 respectively, Annie E. K. Bidwell Collection, California State Library.
68. Annie E. Kennedy to John Bidwell, 27 and 28 March 1868, Hoopes, *What Makes a Man*, 96.
69. John Bidwell to Annie, February 22, 1867, in Hoopes, *What Makes a Man*, 35.

## DURAM, "Ambivalence," pp. 26-35.

1. Richard Rovere, "Eisenhower Revisited — A Political Genius? A Brilliant Man?," reprinted in Robert Marcus and Daniel Bruner (eds.), *America Since 1945* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972), 115-24; Arthur Larson, *Eisenhower: The President Nobody Knew* (New York: Scribners, 1968), 24-33; Fred Greenstein, *The Hidden-Hand Presidency: Eisenhower as Leader* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 57-99; and Gary Reichard, *The Reaffirmation of Republicanism: Eisenhower and the Eighty-Third Congress* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975), ix, 237. For a somewhat different view that emphasizes the dominance of Eisenhower's philosophy of moderation, see the author's *A Moderate Among Extremists: Dwight D. Eisenhower and the School Desegregation Crisis* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1981), 237-54.
2. Oveta Culp Hobby to Senator H. Alexander Smith, April 30, 1953, Folder "O.E. Legislative Reports, 1953-55," Box 19, Hobby Papers, Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library.
3. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Mandate For Change* (New York: New American Library, 1963), 595-6.
4. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971), 1040-1. See also the correspondence in Boxes 3 and 4 of the Gubser Papers, Special Collections Department, Wichita State University, Wichita, Kansas, for autobiographical remarks. See his letter to Lester Will dated February 19, 1955, in Box 5 for another important autobiographical discussion. Most subsequent references to these papers will include names of correspondents, specific dates, and box numbers, followed by the letters GP. The author is particularly indebted to Professor William H. Richardson, a native Californian, for information provided about the historical and economic background of the area that Congressman Gubser represented.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Richard F. Fenno and Frank J. Munger, *National Politics and Federal Aid to Education* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1962), 13.
7. Gubser to H.E. Womer, July 12, 1954, Box 4, GP.
8. See the letters collected in the "McCarthy File" in Box 4, GP, defending his and the administration's position on McCarthy and the national security issue. See in particular Gubser to John Scherrer, May 19, 1954. The other topics are discussed regularly in the correspondence collected in Boxes 1-5 of the Gubser papers.
9. Gubser to Len Hall, June 21, 1954, Box 4, GP. See James L. Sundquist, *Politics and Policy: the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Years* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1968), 17-20, for a discussion of the Republican defeat in the 1954 congressional elections.
10. Gubser to M. Sontheimer, January 26, 1954, Box 5, GP.
11. Gubser to C. G. Mercer, February 2, 1955, Box 6, GP.
12. Gubser to K. Campbell, April 15, 1955, Box 6, GP.
13. Gubser to T. Leonard, February 15, 1955, Box 6, GP.
14. Gubser to G. M. Wirt, July 27, 1955, Box 8, GP.
15. Gubser to Mrs. T. Hearn, August 26, 1955, Box 8, GP.
16. Fenno and Munger, *Federal Aid to Education*, 14.
17. Gubser to G. Van Patton, February 15, 1956; Gubser to San Jose Teachers Association, January 23, 1956; and Gubser to Mountain View Teachers Association, April 6, 1956, Box 9, GP.
18. Gubser to M. Ingebretsen, February 27, 1956, Box 9, GP.
19. Fenno and Munger, *Federal Aid to Education*, 13.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Gubser to C. C. Jones, February 27, 1956, Box 9, GP.
22. Gubser to O. M. Henderson, April 12, 1956, Box 10, GP.
23. Gubser to O. S. Hubbard, February 22, 1956, Box 9, GP.
24. Hope to K. Henderson, March 5, 1956, Box 217, Clifford Hope Papers, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.
25. Gubser to W. Gibson, June 21, 1956, Box 10, GP.
26. Gubser to F. Takala, July 10, 1956, Box 11, GP.
27. Fenno and Munger, *Federal Aid to Education*, 15-16.
28. Gubser to F. L. Wunderlich, April 2, 1957, Box 14, GP. See also Gubser to L. Nelson, April 10, 1957, and Gubser to R. G. Langlois, May 13, 1957, in Box 14, GP.
29. Gubser to A. Tully, July 20, 1957, and Gubser to R. Hess, July 24, 1957, Box 15, GP.
30. Gubser to K. Daly, July 31, 1957, Box 15, GP.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Gubser to P. G. Downton, August 7, 1957, Box 16, GP.
33. Gubser to P. J. Heller, August 26, 1957, Box 16, GP.
34. Barbara B. Clowse, *Brainpower For The Cold War: The Sputnik Crisis and the National Defense Education Act of 1958* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1981).
35. House Committee on Education and Labor, "Federal Grants to States for Education," 84th Congress, 2nd Session, 1958, p. 252.
36. Gubser to A. Bandettini, October 18, 1957; and Gubser to R. Mullenbach, October 21, 1957, Box 16, GP.

37. Gubser to A. F. Hyde, January 9, 1958, Box 17, GP.
38. Gubser to M. G. Herbert, February 27, 1958, Box 18, GP.
39. Gubser to E. A. Gibbs, July 8, 1958, Box 20, GP. See also Gubser to D. C. Duley, May 19, 1958, Box 19, GP; and Gubser to F. Steere, June 30, 1958, Box 20, GP.
40. Gubser to Paul J. Veath, August 5, 1958; Gubser to R. G. Pettit, August 13, 1958, Box 21, GP.
41. Gubser to M. R. Mackenzie, October 6, 1958, Box 21, GP.
42. Fenno and Munger, *Federal Aid to Education*, 15.
43. Gubser to G. Cass, February 6, 1959, Box 22, GP; Gubser to N. Walsh, April 8, 1959, Box 23, GP; Gubser to J. A. Symen, April 21, 1959, Box 24, GP.
44. Gubser to Chairman G. Barden, March 23, 1959, Box 24, GP.
45. Gubser to R. W. Randall, June 6, 1959, Box 25, GP.
46. Gubser to F. A. Wickett, June 24, 1959, Box 25, GP.
47. Gubser to A. Vatuare, July 11, 1959, Box 25, GP.
48. Fenno and Munger, *Federal Aid to Education*, 15.
49. Gubser to H. Williams, February 17, 1960, Box 29, GP; Gubser to B. Rider, April 6, 1960, Box 30, GP.
50. Gubser to E. Cooley, June 6, 1960, Box 31, GP.

#### DAILY "Lone Woman," pp. 36-41.

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Museum of Natural History. Linguistic comparisons were made with the help of Michael Krauss, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, and his colleague Jeff Leer. The Santa Cruz Island Foundation, 1010 Anacapa Street, Santa Barbara, California is to be thanked for its continued support of research concerning the California Channel Islands.

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2. For nearly a century, various anthropologists have looked into the question of Juana Maria. Alphabetically, this incomplete listing includes: Reverend Stephen Bowers; Hal Eberhart; Albert B. Elsasser; J. P. Harrington; Robert F. Heizer; Travis Hudson; Alfred Kroeber; and Clement Meighan. See: Stephen Bowers, "The Lone Woman of San Nicolas Island," *Ventura Weekly Observer*, December 9, 1892, p. 228, and December 16, 1892, p. 238; J. P. Harrington's unpublished notes on file at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History; Clement Meighan and Hal Eberhart, "Archaeological Resources of San Nicolas Island, California," *American Antiquity* 19 (1953): 109-125; Robert F. Heizer and Albert B. Elsasser, *Original Accounts of the Lone Woman of San Nicolas Island* (Ramona: Ballena Press, 1973).
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8. Original Emma Hardacre logbook in the private collection of the author.
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18. Thomas H. Thompson and Albert A. West, *History of Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties* (Oakland: Thompson and West, 1883).
19. See note 5 above.



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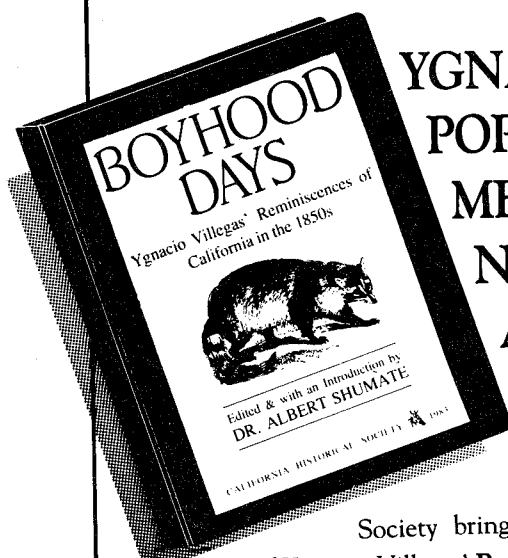
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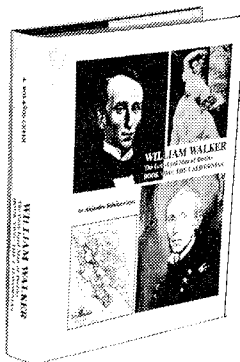
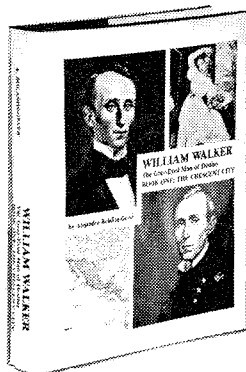


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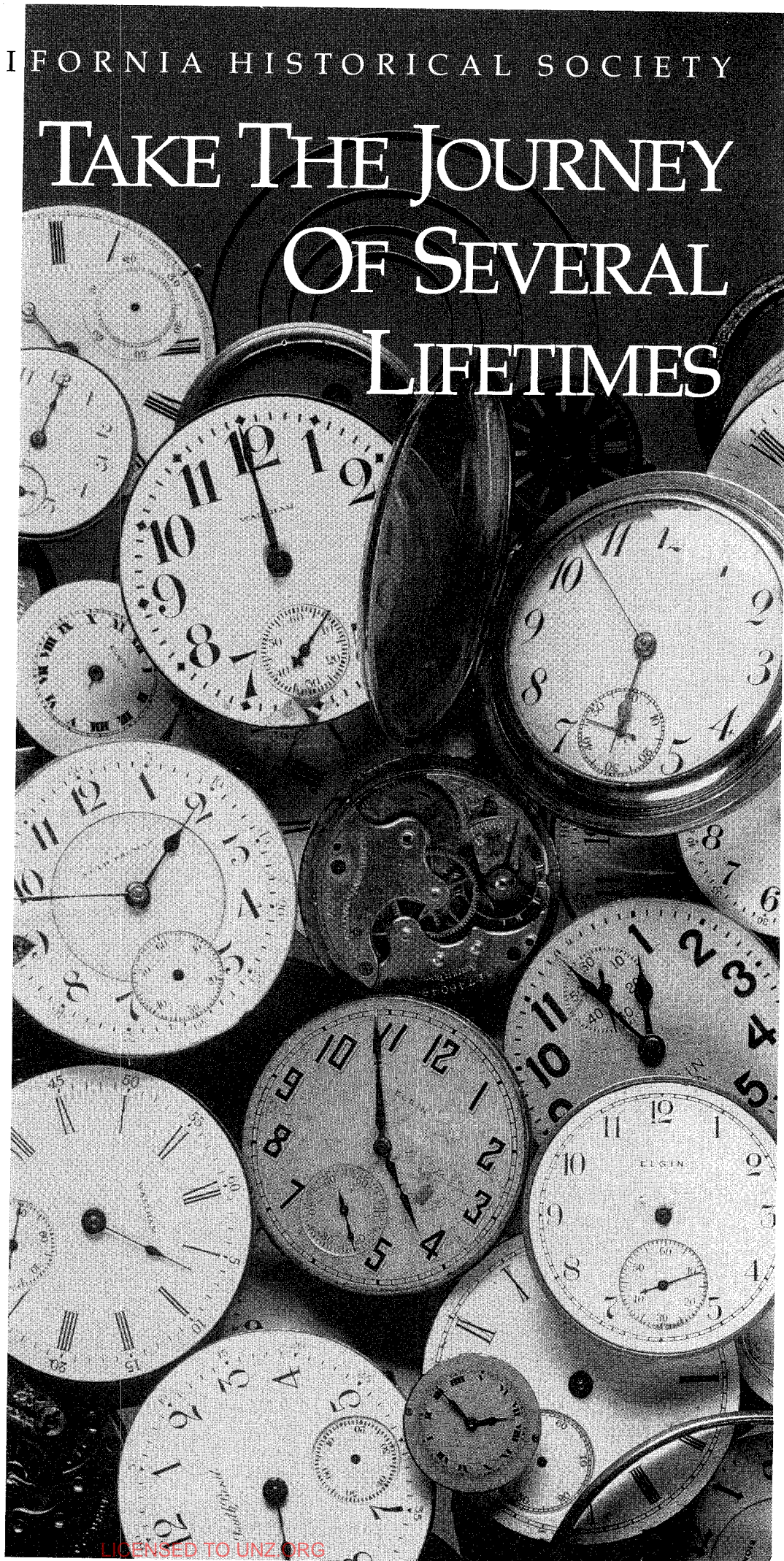
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